

BBC

THE ANGLO-SAXONS' LAST STAND

HISTORY

MAGAZINE

BRITAIN'S BESTSELLING HISTORY MAGAZINE

January 2017 • www.historyextra.com

Mother of the Tudors

How **Margaret Beaufort** fought the Wars of the Roses and founded a dynasty

The downfall of the Knights Templar

Should we be glad that Hitler's assassins failed?

The not so glorious revolution of 1688

The surprising story of Africa's British slaves

PLUS



Fidel Castro: dangerous dictator or revolutionary hero?



AWARD-WINNING EXPERT-LED ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOURS



DISCOVER POMPEII & HERCULANEUM

THE HAUNTING, INCREDIBLY PRESERVED BURIED CITIES OF SOUTHERN ITALY

Lose yourself in the past, walking the ancient streets in the footsteps of gladiators, slaves, senators and citizens... Our eight-day tour is led throughout by an expert Guide Lecturer who will bring these ancient towns to life. In addition to Pompeii & Herculaneum, we visit Naples Museum, grand Roman villas and Greek temples. A complete, eye-opening introduction to the world-famous sites of the Bay of Naples.

WHATS INCLUDED

- Expert Archaeologist Guide Lecturer
- Special access to archaeological sites
- Hand-picked 4* hotel and all meals
- All local transport, visits and tips



"I enjoyed every minute of this holiday, the dream of a lifetime..."

"I will never forget standing in Pompeii and thinking this is it, this is what I've been waiting for."

Guests on our Pompeii tours



Dates throughout 2017 | 8 Days | From £1,895 per person | Call us to find out more

- EXPERT-LED | SMALL GROUPS | SPECIAL ACCESS | ALL INCLUSIVE -

01722 713800 | tours@andantetravels.com | www.andantetravels.co.uk

CHOOSE FROM OVER 120 TOURS IN 2017



HIDDEN VENICE

Get under the skin of this exquisite lagoon city with twilight visits and lingering looks at secretive sites...

20th – 25th March



HIDDEN AMSTERDAM

With secret churches and underground museums, lanes and quarters, and culinary and cultural clout, Amsterdam was just made to be explored...

11th – 16th May



CHINA

China's remarkable story can be read at every turn, from the urban bustle of Shanghai to the silent Terracotta Warriors.

14th – 30th September



CHILE & EASTER ISLAND

Bear witness to some of the most extraordinary rock art on Earth, set in almost-lunar desert landscapes and in the heart of the windswept Pacific.

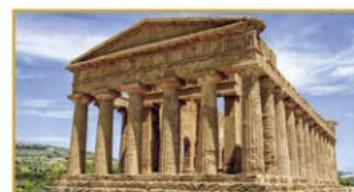
27th March – 13th April



RENAISSANCE VILLAS

Explore the long tradition of the central Italian villa, from its beginnings as an imperial retreat to a structure embodying Renaissance high art and low political intrigue.

15th – 21st May



CLASSICAL SICILY

Historically situated at a meeting point of empires, Sicily is a mosaic of influence, home to incredible Greek, Roman and Norman sites.

Dates throughout 2017



CYPRUS | THE SOUTH

Recent research dates Cyprus' earliest occupation to over ten millennia ago. That's a lot of history to catch up on...

why don't you join us?

20th – 27th April



HIDDEN BERLIN

With its striking museums and monuments, Berlin is an icon of 20th century history. But look a little more closely, and you'll find an even more intriguing Berlin to explore...

5th – 10th June



CRETE & SANTORINI

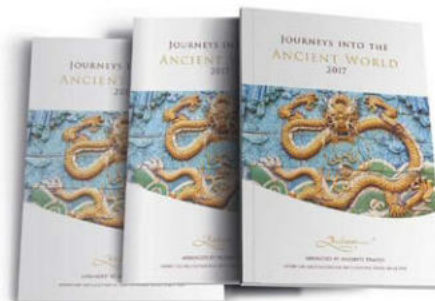
Myth and modernity happily rub shoulders on Crete, from the palace where Theseus slew the Minotaur to the winding streets of charming towns.

Dates throughout 2017

To see our full selection of 2017 tours visit us online at www.andantetravels.co.uk or order your copy of our latest brochure by giving us a call on 01722 713800

NEW 2017 BROCHURE

GET YOUR
COPY TODAY!

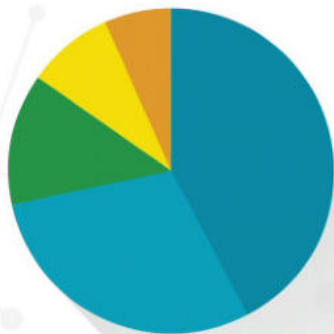


- FROM AS LITTLE AS £595 -

01722 713800 | tours@andantetravels.com | www.andantetravels.co.uk



Where do you think you come from?



- 43% Europe West
- 31% Great Britain
- 12% Scandinavia
- 8% Iberian Peninsula
- 6% Italy/Greece



Order your complete kit with easy-to-follow instructions.



Return a small saliva sample in the prepaid envelope.



Your DNA will be analysed at more than 700,000 genetic markers.



Within 6-8 weeks, expect an email with a link to your online results.

With one simple test,
uncover the different places from
your past, discover unknown
relatives and find new details
about your unique story.

Know your story.
Buy now at [AncestryDNA.co.uk](https://ancestrydna.co.uk)

JANUARY 2017

WELCOME

BBC **HiSTORY**
MAGAZINE

“Even in one of the most dramatic periods of English history, few lived a life as eventful as **Margaret Beaufort**. Born in the mid-15th century, she was married several times, survived the mayhem of the Wars of the Roses and helped engineer her son, Henry VII's path to the throne. On page 50, Michael Jones charts the life of a remarkable woman, showing how she made her own luck in a male-dominated society. He also considers whether she had a role in the disappearance of the princes in the Tower.

Four centuries earlier, England was undergoing another period of upheaval, at the time of the **Norman conquest**. While the battle of Hastings is frequently viewed as the end of English resistance, in actual fact, it was just the beginning of a lengthy period of **civil unrest and guerilla warfare** that was only suppressed with great brutality by William the Conqueror. Turn to page 34 to read Marc Morris's take on the bloody aftermath of 1066.

Meanwhile, back in the present day, history is continuing to be made and, not long before we went to press, we heard the news of **Fidel Castro's death**. The Cuban revolutionary leader was one of the defining figures of the Cold War age. On page 44 we have gathered a panel of experts to offer a historical perspective on Castro and his legacy. And if you would like to share your own views on the subject, please do send us a letter or head to our Twitter or Facebook pages to **join the debate**.



Rob Attar

Editor

BSME Editor of the Year 2015, Special Interest Brand

THIS ISSUE'S CONTRIBUTORS



Laurence Rees

I think if the Nazis had won the war they would have killed all of the Jews they could. There is no question that the reason so many survived is because the war stopped.

● *Laurence discusses the Holocaust on page 69*



Helen Nicholson

For almost 200 years the Knights Templar held property all over Britain. Most people would have come into contact with them and it's fascinating trying to reconstruct their lives.

● *Helen traces the rise and fall of the Knights Templar on page 82*



Adam Nichols

Barbary corsairs captured and enslaved Britons for centuries, and for a time they posed a serious threat to Britain. This is an aspect of British history that seems neglected today, but it's a remarkable story and one that I feel deserves our attention.

● *Adam reveals how the corsairs menaced Britain on page 64*

historyextra.com

The website of BBC History Magazine

Weekly podcast

Download episodes for free from iTunes and other providers, or via our website: historyextra.com/podcasts

Our digital editions

BBC History Magazine is available for the Kindle, Kindle Fire, iPad/iPhone, Google Play and Zinio. Find us in your app store or visit the website: historyextra.com/digital

Facebook and Twitter

twitter.com/historyextra

facebook.com/historyextra

World Histories

Check out the new bimonthly global history magazine, produced by the BBC History Magazine team.

You can order issue 1 at buysubscriptions.com/worldhistories or call us on 0844 844 0250**



Collector's Edition: The Story of the Victorians

Read our guide to one of British history's most colourful periods. Buy it for £9.99 – subscribers get free UK P+P*.

Order at buysubscriptions.com/victorians or call us on 0844 844 0250**



CONTACT US

PHONE Subscriptions & back issues

0844 844 0250 – Those with impaired hearing can call Minicom 01795 414561

Editorial 0117 314 7377

EMAIL Subscriptions & back issues

bbchistorymag@servicehelpline.co.uk

Editorial historymagazine@historyextra.com

POST Subscriptions & back issues

BBC History Magazine, PO Box 279, Sittingbourne, Kent ME9 8DF

Basic annual subscription rates:

UK: £40, Eire/Europe: £67, ROW: £69

Editorial BBC History Magazine, Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited, Tower House, Fairfax Street, Bristol BS1 3BN



In the US/Canada you can contact us at: PO Box 37495, Boone, IA 50037



BHcustserv@cdsfulfillment.com, britsubs.com/history, Toll-free 800-342-3592

*Subscribers to BBC History Magazine receive FREE UK P&P on this collector's edition. Prices including postage are: £11.49 for all other UK residents, £12.99 for Europe and £13.49 for Rest of World. All orders subject to availability. Please allow up to 21 days for delivery **Calls will cost 7p per minute plus your telephone company's access charge. Lines are open 8am–8pm weekdays & 9am–1pm Saturday

JANUARY 2017

CONTENTS

Features



Learn how attitudes towards women have evolved over the centuries, on page 16

22 The Glorious Revolution?

Lucy Worsley considers whether we have misunderstood the events that brought William and Mary to the throne

28 The plot to kill Hitler

Roger Moorhouse and Nigel Jones debate whether it was just as well that Claus von Stauffenberg's conspiracy failed

34 The Anglo-Saxons' last stand

William I faced years of opposition after Hastings. Marc Morris shows how the Anglo-Saxons kept on fighting

41 God, gangs and Garibaldi

Michael Scott reveals five surprising historic links between Sicily and Britain

44 How should history remember Fidel Castro?

Was the Cuban leader a champion of the oppressed or merely another repressive tyrant? Five historians present their views

50 Margaret Beaufort: mother of the Tudors

Michael Jones on the achievements of the ambitious mother of Henry VII

56 Become a local historian

How you can delve into the past on your doorstep

64 When Britons were slaves in Africa

Adam Nichols follows the travails of Britons captured by Barbary corsairs

Every month

8 ANNIVERSARIES

13 HISTORY NOW

13 The latest history news

16 Backgrounder: misogyny

18 Past notes: pantomimes

19 MICHAEL WOOD'S VIEW

20 LETTERS

48 OUR FIRST WORLD WAR

69 BOOKS

The latest releases reviewed, plus an interview with Laurence Rees about his new work on the Holocaust

79 TV & RADIO

The pick of new history programmes

82 OUT & ABOUT

82 History Explorer: Knights Templar

87 Five things to do in January

88 My favourite place: New Orleans

93 MISCELLANY

93 Q&A and quiz

94 Samantha's recipe corner

95 Prize crossword

98 MY HISTORY HERO

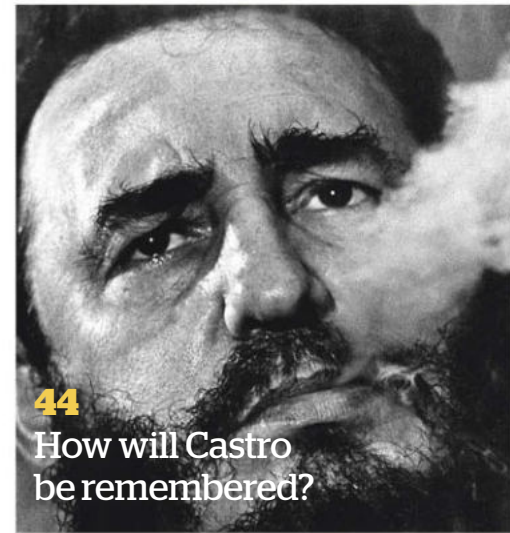
Actor Jenny Agutter picks palaeontologist Mary Anning

32 SUBSCRIBE

Save when you subscribe today



USPS Identification Statement BBC HISTORY (ISSN 1469-8552) (USPS 024-177) January 2017 is published 13 times a year under licence from BBC Worldwide by Immediate Media Company Bristol Ltd, Tower House, Fairfax Street, Bristol BS1 3BN, UK. Distributed in the US by Circulation Specialists, Inc., 2 Corporate Drive, Suite 945, Shelton CT 06484-6238. Periodicals postage paid at Shelton, CT and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE, PO Box 37495, Boone, IA 50037-0495.



44

How will Castro be remembered?

64

The Britons enslaved by African pirates



GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY/BRIDGEMAN/©THE MASTER AND FELLOWS OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE/TOPFOTO/PA

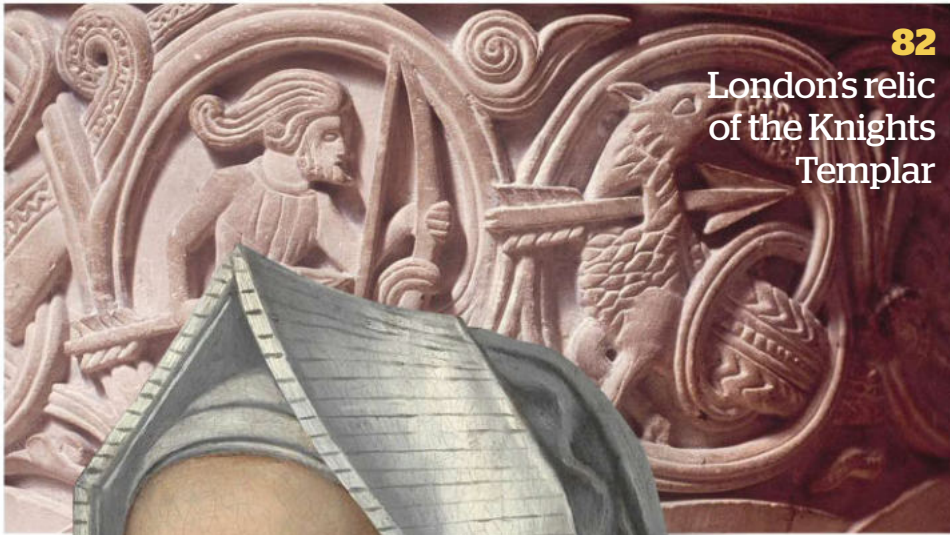
28

Should we regret or be thankful for
Stauffenberg's failure to kill Hitler?



82

London's relic
of the Knights
Templar

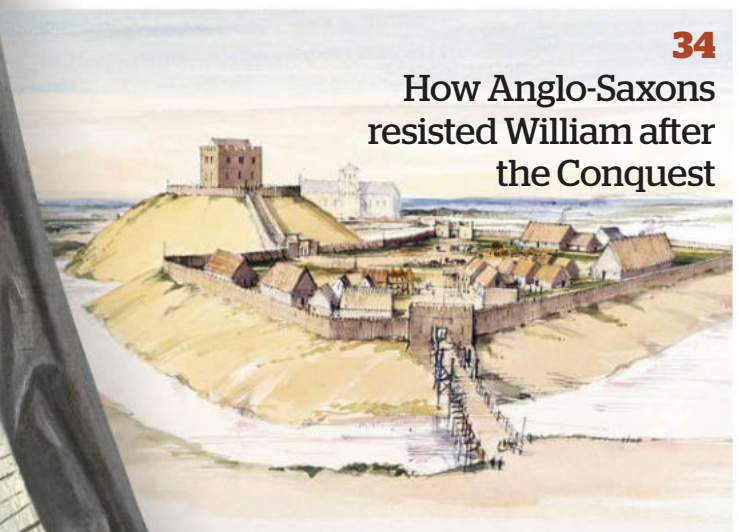


22

William and Mary's
Glorious Revolution

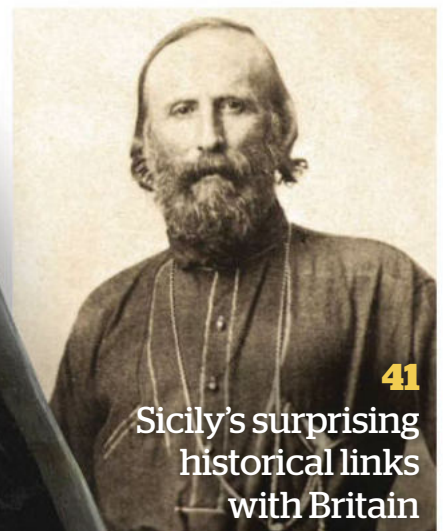
34

How Anglo-Saxons
resisted William after
the Conquest



50

**"MARGARET
CONCEIVED AT THE
AGE OF 12, AND LOST
HER HUSBAND BEFORE
THE BABY WAS BORN"**



41

Sicily's surprising
historical links
with Britain

Dominic Sandbrook highlights events that took place in **January** in history

ANNIVERSARIES

6 January 1540

Henry VIII marries wife number four

Anne of Cleves fails to impress in the royal bedchamber

Even though Henry VIII had already married three times, his wedding with Anne of Cleves on 6 January 1540 was a day to remember, though perhaps not for the right reasons. The bride and groom had met just five days earlier, when Anne's modest appearance had left the king famously unimpressed. But still the marriage went ahead, as to not proceed would jeopardise an important alliance with the duchy of Cleves.

The service itself, held in Greenwich by Archbishop Cranmer, was a success, and Anne's golden wedding gown, long fair hair and glittering jewels made a great impression on the onlookers. The wedding feast was predictably lavish, and afterwards the happy couple retired to bed to consummate the marriage. Alas, this part of the proceedings was a complete disaster. When Henry surfaced the next morning,

he was not in a good mood.

When Henry's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, asked how it had gone, the king snapped: "I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse." Later, he told friends that he had been put off by the "hanging of her breasts and looseness of her flesh", which he said made him doubt whether she was really a virgin.

Almost certainly this was an excuse. At almost 50, heavily overweight with a painful leg ulcer, Henry himself was no oil painting. In any case, the marriage was never consummated and was over in just a few months.

Perhaps surprisingly, though, the king had always treated his wife with marked kindness. "When he comes to bed," she told a confidante, "he kisses me and taketh me by the hand and biddeth me, 'good-night sweetheart!'"



Henry was less than impressed with his new bride (as shown in our illustration) and the marriage ended within four months without ever being consummated

10 January 49 BC

Caesar crosses the Rubicon

The Roman general defies the Senate, bringing war to Rome

The first days of 49 BC found Julius Caesar in Ravenna, northern Italy, with a decision to make. After years of success in Gaul, Caesar was unquestionably Rome's most accomplished and popular general. But to the Senate, and to his rival Pompey the Great, that made him a threat. When the Senate ordered him to resign his commission and return to Rome, Caesar knew that both his career and his life hung in the balance.

According to tradition, Caesar made his move on 10 January. He spent the day as normal, inspecting plans for a new gladiatorial school and feasting with his chief companions. Once night had fallen, however, he set out with a small group of friends, riding south towards the Rubicon, a shallow river – little more than a stream, really – that marked the boundary between the Roman province of Cisalpine Gaul and Roman Italy. Bringing troops south across the Rubicon into Italy was a treasonable offence, punishable by death. Little wonder, then, that at the water's edge he hesitated. "Even now we can turn back," he said, "but when we pass this little bridge, it means war."

According to the historian Suetonius, it was now that the gods intervened. Suddenly there appeared "a being of wondrous stature and beauty, who sat and played upon a reed". As some of the soldiers stepped towards him, the apparition grabbed one of their trumpets, "rushed to the river, and sounding the war-note with a mighty blast, strode to the opposite bank". That, Suetonius wrote, was the signal that Caesar wanted. "Let us go where the omens of the gods and the crimes of our enemies call us!" he shouted to his men. "*Alea iacta est!*" (the die is cast). With that Caesar spurred on his horse. The Rubicon had been crossed. Peace wouldn't return to Rome for close on two decades.

ILLUSTRATION BY JAGODA SADOWSKA

Dominic Sandbrook is a historian and presenter. His series about Britain in the 1980s was shown last year on BBC Two



AKG-IMAGES

Julius Caesar and his troops cross the Rubicon to a fanfare from the gods in this French illustration. Crossing the river was the point of no return in his challenge to his rival Pompey and it precipitated civil war

10 January 1645

Archbishop William Laud (right), a close ally of Charles I, is beheaded after being accused of treason.



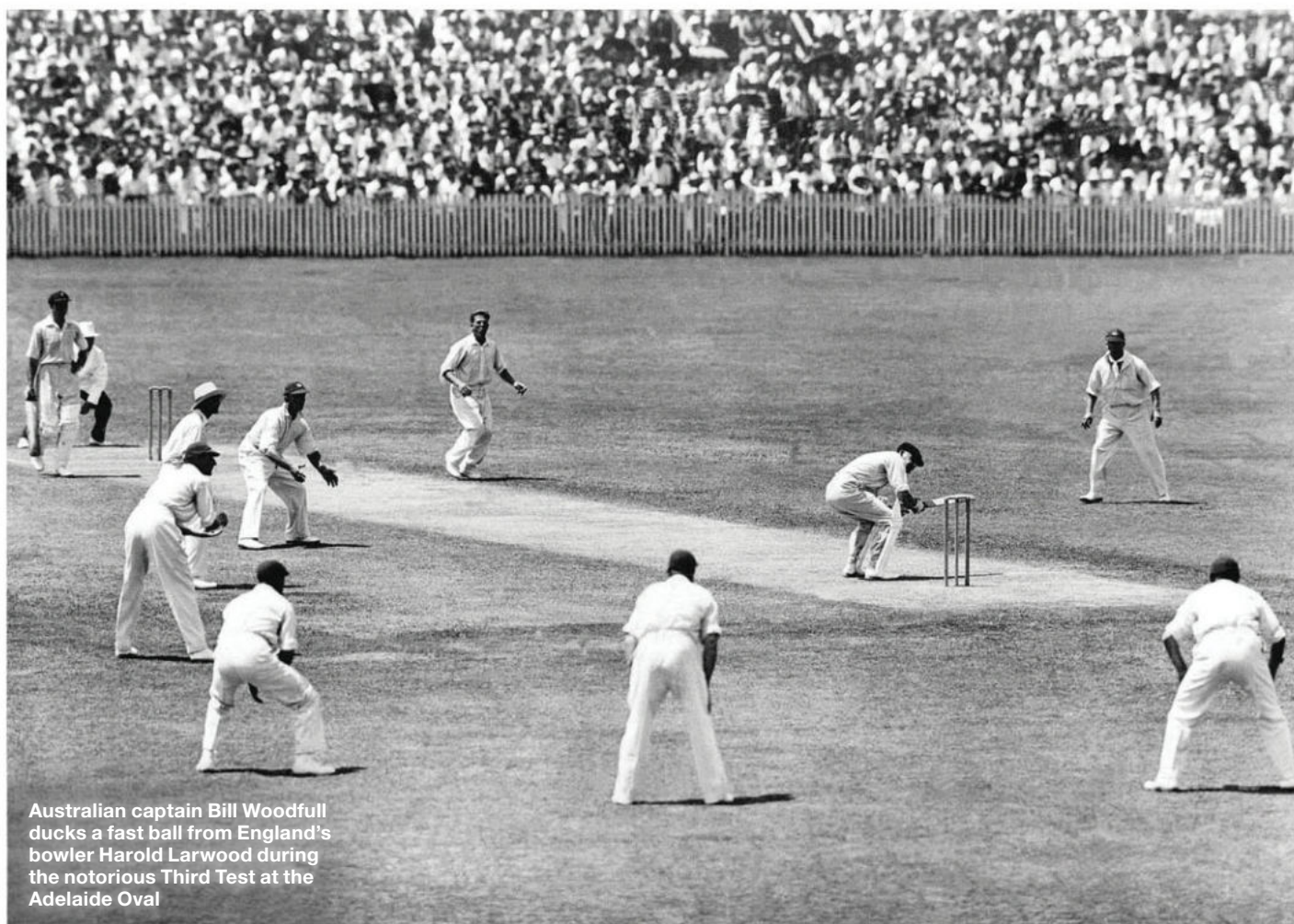
28 January 1671

Hoping to seize its fabled treasure reserves, the Welsh born privateer Henry Morgan captures and sacks the Spanish colonial city of Panama, in central America.



11 January 1879

After the expiry of an ultimatum to the Zulu king Cetshwayo (left), British forces cross the border into Zululand, launching the Zulu War.



Australian captain Bill Woodfull ducks a fast ball from England's bowler Harold Larwood during the notorious Third Test at the Adelaide Oval

14 January 1933

Bodyline affair puts Anglo-Australian relations to the test

Aggressive English tactics are just not cricket

As Australia's cricketers took the field for the second day of the Third Test at the Adelaide Oval on 14 January 1933, a record crowd of more than 50,000 spectators were watching from the stands. They could hardly have known that they were about to witness perhaps the most controversial day, not just in cricket history, but in the intertwined history of Britain and Australia. Even today, the scars of the bodyline affair have never really healed.

The key figures in what followed were England's captain Douglas Jardine, the picture of patrician superiority, and fast bowler Harold Larwood, a miner's son from Nottinghamshire. Jardine told his bowlers to pitch their balls to land short in front of the leg stump of the wicket (where a batsman would stand). Bowling fast, high-bouncing deliveries meant the ball would then bounce up to hit the batsman's body. Jardine called it 'fast leg theory'. The Australian press dubbed it 'bodyline'.

When it was England's turn to field, Jardine unleashed his weapon. Larwood's sixth ball hit Australian captain Bill Woodfull over his heart, almost knocking him to the ground and drawing gasps from the crowd. "Well played, Harold!" Jardine shouted pointedly, to the horror of the Australians. Play was temporarily delayed while Woodfull recovered, but when Jardine continued to employ bodyline tactics, the jeers and roars from the crowd became ever louder. Some England players admitted that they had been afraid of a riot.

At the end of the day's play, England's manager Pelham Warner visited the Australian dressing room to offer sympathies to the battered Woodfull. "I do not want to see you, Mr Warner," the Australian reportedly said. "There are two teams out there. One is playing cricket. The other is making no effort to do so."

TOP PHOTO/ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES

13 January 1898

Zola attacks France's anti-Semitism

In an open letter headlined "J'accuse", he highlights the injustice of the Dreyfus affair

As the people of Paris trudged to work on 13 January 1898, one title on the newsstands caught their attention. On the front page of the socialist newspaper *L'Aurore* ("The Dawn"), the headline read simply: "J'accuse..." In smaller print were the words: "Letter to the president of the Republic. By Emile Zola."

In 1898, Zola was one of the best-known writers in Europe, famous for his series of groundbreaking realist novels. Like many fellow Frenchmen, he had been shocked by the Dreyfus case, which had seen a Jewish artillery officer, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, convicted of passing secrets to the Germans and imprisoned on Devil's Island (a notorious penal colony in French Guiana) on the flimsiest evidence imaginable. In the meantime, documents had emerged implicating another officer, one Major Esterhazy. But thanks to a



On the front page of a French newspaper, novelist Emile Zola brings the wrongful imprisonment of a Jewish captain, Alfred Dreyfus, to the world's attention

military cover-up, Esterhazy was acquitted, while Dreyfus languished in prison.

To Zola, this was intolerable. His open letter, splashed across the front page of the paper, smouldered with anger. The fate of Dreyfus was the "most shameful and indelible of stains... a supreme insult to all truth and justice. And now the image of France is sullied by this filth". With blistering frankness repeating again and again the words "I accuse" he indicted the generals, the court martial, the handwrit-

ing experts and the war office itself. "Let them dare, then, to bring me before a court of law and let the enquiry take place in broad daylight!" he ended. "I am waiting."

As Zola had expected, the war minister promptly filed suit. The trial opened amid an atmosphere of extraordinary political bitterness, and the writer was sentenced to a year in prison. In July, while the legal battle dragged on, he fled to England. But thanks to Zola's courage, the Dreyfus case had become an international scandal. ■

COMMENT / Dr Marisa Linton

"J'accuse brought the sordid reality of France's anti-Semitism out into the open"

Zola's open letter was a brave move. His public accusation took on the forces of the French establishment – army leaders, the rightwing press, and even the French president himself.

J'accuse succeeded in sparking off a new readiness of French intellectuals to engage in political activism and intervene in the press in defence of human rights. But it was at considerable risk to themselves, as was the case for Zola. Despite his popularity as a writer (his books include *L'Assommoir* and the acclaimed *Germinal*), he was forced to flee to England in order to avoid imprisonment.

Zola's open letter, published in *L'Aurore*, brought the sordid reality of France's widespread and deeply entrenched anti-Semitism out into the open and deeply polarised French society. This troubling undercurrent of anti-Semitism would continue to characterise some sections of French society, resurfacing again during the Second World War.

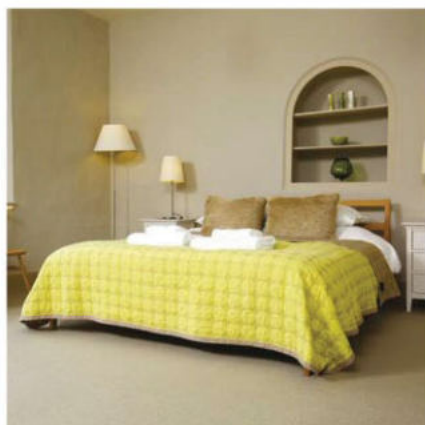
In 1899 Dreyfus was re-tried and was again found guilty, though a 'pardon' was issued. His name was officially cleared in 1906, four years after Zola's death. But the J'accuse affair raised questions about the treatment of religious minorities in

France that are still with us today. Zola himself is seen as inspirational for his courage in speaking out in defence of justice and human rights, and against racist bigotry.



Marisa Linton is reader in history at Kingston University and author of *Choosing Terror: Virtue, Friendship and Authenticity in the French Revolution* (OUP, 2013)

HOLIDAYS WITH HISTORY



The English Heritage Trust is a charity, no. 1140351, and a company, no. 07447221, registered in England.

From medieval castles and great Tudor houses to Queen Victoria's seaside retreat, English Heritage holiday cottages are situated in the heart of some of England's most historic sites.

With 19 historical, self-catering holiday cottages, there's no shortage of inspiring locations to choose from across the country. Explore the site once the public has gone home. With a castle lawn as your back garden you're guaranteed a memorable stay.

Book at www.english-heritage.org.uk/holidaycottages or call on **0370 333 1187**.

By choosing to stay in an English Heritage holiday cottage, you're helping to keep the story of England alive at over 400 historic sites across the country.

Step into England's story

The latest news, plus **Backgrounder 16** Past notes **18**

HISTORY NOW

Have a story? Please email Charlotte Hodgman at charlotte.hodgman@immediate.co.uk



EYE OPENER

THE PRICE OF LOVE

Seventeen previously unseen photographs of the wedding of the former Edward VIII, Edward, Duke of Windsor, to Wallis Simpson on 3 June 1937 were recently auctioned in Sussex for £11,408.

The images, taken on a 'rogue camera' by one of the wedding guests, include pictures of the bride and groom (above), the seven-tier wedding cake and the ceremony room (inset right). The wedding took place near the French city of Tours six months after Edward's abdication from the British throne.



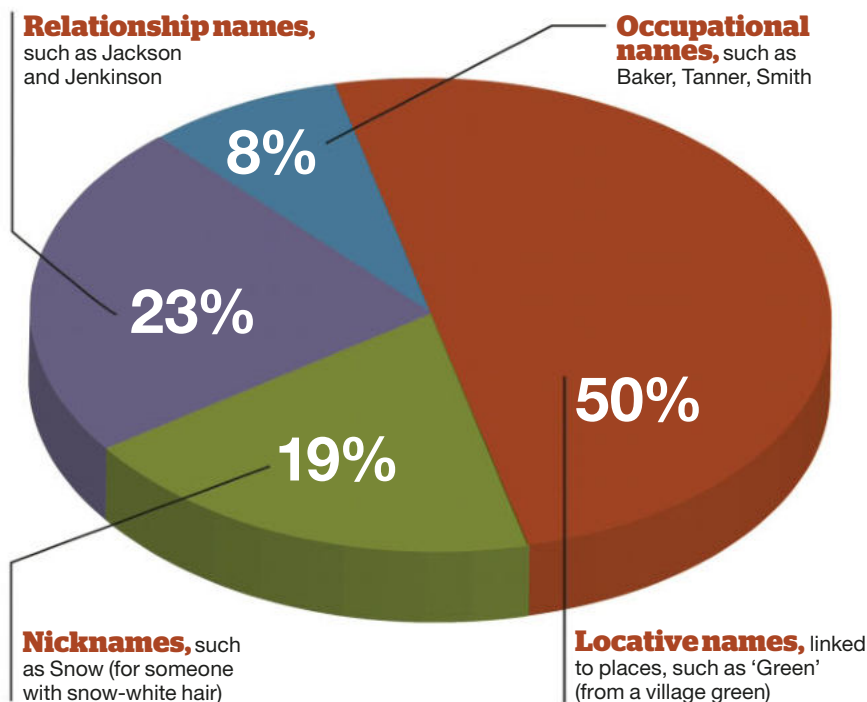
48

The number of skeletons discovered in a plague pit at the site of a 14th-century monastery hospital at Thornton Abbey in Lincolnshire

SOCIAL HISTORY

The origins of our surnames

Taken from Britain and Ireland's 20,000 most common surnames



Study reveals origins of more than 45,000 British and Irish surnames

Whether you're a Smith, a Jones, a Frobisher or a Farah, the chances are that, at some point, you've wondered where your surname comes from. Now, with the help of the UK's largest-ever study into the roots of family names in Britain and Ireland, it's a lot easier to find out.

A team of historians and experts, based at the University of the West of England, in Bristol, have been analysing records from the 11th to 19th centuries – with the aim of determining the

The study has revealed the provenance of 8,000 surnames for the very first time

geographical birthplace, language or culture of origin and historical explanation for more than 45,000 surnames.

One of the study's most significant achievements has been to shed light on the provenance of 8,000 names for the very first time. One of these is the aforementioned Farah, which – while now common among Muslim families – was an occupational name from Middle English that had just five recorded bearers in the 1881 census.

Ninety per cent of the surnames studied were native to Britain and Ireland, with the remainder a product of immigration since the 16th century.

The findings have been published in *The Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland* by Oxford University Press.

EXPERT COMMENT

“Admitting that you’ve killed is rare in personal testimony”



More than 500 firsthand accounts of the battle of the Somme have been donated

to the Imperial War Museums.

Anthony Richards reveals what they tell us about the bloody battle of 1916

What is significant about these accounts of the Somme?

The collection's importance lies in the fact that, 100 years on from the battle, we need to rely on personal testimonies in order to understand and appreciate soldiers' experiences.

You would be forgiven for thinking that any significant collection of letters, diaries or memoirs would already be in a museum collection or widely available in the public domain, yet we now have an enormous, largely untapped resource of more than 500 personal accounts. This is effectively 'new' material, which historians can use to interpret the events of 1916.



GETTY

HISTORY NEWS ROUND-UP

A selection of stories that have hit the history headlines

Do any of the testimonies challenge previously held views about the battle?

A common perception of the battle, and of war generally, is that one side simply wants to destroy the other. Yet in several of the accounts, British soldiers are reported as showing humanity towards the Germans, and vice-versa. A British soldier describes giving a wounded German a drink from his water bottle, while another describes a German officer stepping in to prevent prisoners being killed. To read of such acts of compassion within the context of a major battle is both affecting and humbling.

What stands out in particular from the accounts?

For me, it was the honesty and matter-of-factness of the writing. Individual descriptions of heroism are largely undersold in favour of reports of the brutality of the battle – from the terrible living and fighting conditions in the trenches to the horror of no man's land.

The most shocking accounts are those that describe hand-to-hand combat and even the act of killing. Admitting that you've killed is incredibly rare in personal testimony and is often, quite understandably, skirted around by writers. But several of the accounts describe quite explicitly the carnage and brutality of 1 July 1916 which, even 100 years after the event, still resonates. **II**

Anthony Richards is head of documents and sound at Imperial War Museums and author of *In Their Own Words: Untold Stories of the First World War* (IWM, 2016)

Details of the individual soldiers who feature in the accounts will be added to IWM's livesofthefirstworldwar.org



A still of a staged shot from the 1916 film *The Battle of the Somme*



The early dentures comprise two lateral canines and three central incisors

Centuries-old dentures found in Tuscany

A set of dentures dating from between the 14th and 17th centuries have been uncovered in a tomb at a monastery in Lucca. Made from five human teeth, each originally belonging to a different person, the early dentures were strung together with a gold band and probably attached to the wearer's teeth with strings at both ends. A layer of tartar found on the teeth indicates the dentures were worn for some time.

Mexican pyramid built like a 'Russian doll'

A third structure has been discovered inside the Kukulkan pyramid in eastern Mexico. The 10-metre-high edifice was found inside a larger 20-metre-high pyramid, which itself is enclosed within the 30-metre-tall pyramid exterior. The pyramid, located in the famous Chichen Itza complex, is believed to have been built in three phases with the smallest structure built first, between AD 550-800.



Chichen Itza's Kukulkan pyramid hides two smaller structures within



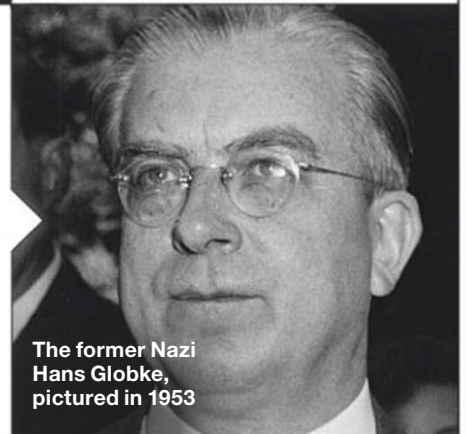
Danish bishop Jens Bircherod (inset) and his faeces

300-year-old poo traced to Danish bishop

Examinations of a lump of poo discovered in a broken bottle in a Danish museum have traced it back to 17th-century bishop Jens Bircherod, from Aalborg. The sample, originally found in an excavated latrine in the grounds of the bishop's manor in 1937, revealed traces of fig, grapes, pepper and buckwheat, indicating that the bishop enjoyed an exotic diet – most of the city's residents would have dined on cabbage, gruel and pork.

Nazi postwar influence under investigation

The German government has launched an inquiry into the degree of influence Nazis such as Hans Globke – who helped draft the 1935 Nuremberg race laws and later worked under Konrad Adenauer – had in West Germany's postwar government, in particular the Chancellery. The investigation comes after a recent report that indicates that around 77 per cent of senior legal experts in the justice ministry in 1957 were former members of the Nazi party.



The former Nazi Hans Globke, pictured in 1953

The historians' view...

Are women winning their long battle against misogyny?

Thanks to Donald Trump's infamous bus recording, as well as the abuse of public figures on social media, the issue of misogyny has barely been out of the headlines in recent weeks. Two academics offer a historical perspective on attitudes to women in the 21st century

Interviews by **Chris Bowlby**, a BBC journalist specialising in history

“In the 19th century, the ruling male establishment used images of women to represent all that was wrong with the state of the nation

SARAH RICHARDSON

Donald Trump's behaviour in the US presidential campaign prompted much debate about misogyny in US politics – but the issue has deep roots in British politics too. Women's role in the public sphere was always contentious before they were given the parliamentary franchise and entitled to hold the office of MP. There was generally an attitude that political commitment was unfeminine.

At times of particular tension, this latent misogyny became much more explicit. These moments often coincided with the succession of a new monarch. When Victoria came to the throne in 1837 as a young, impressionable woman there was a plethora of popular ballads based around the 'power of the petticoat', and the idea that traditional gender roles in both the household and the nation

had somehow been inverted.

This hostility tended to reflect anxiety among the ruling male establishment, which used images of women to represent all that was wrong with the state of the nation. George Cruikshank's grotesque caricature of members of the female reform association of Blackburn in 1819 demonstrates what politics would look like (in the minds of the establishment) if women were active participants.

Hostile attitudes towards women were also evident in working-class movements. The leaders of radical groups often put pressure on their female colleagues to compromise their political demands in order to ensure that male-led campaigns had a greater chance of success. Chartists refused to endorse female suffrage because they felt that to call for the enfranchisement of women on the same basis as men would make them a laughing stock.

Such attitudes meant that women who *did* want to participate in public life had to tread a very fine line to avoid having their reputations trashed. Suffrage campaigners of the late 19th and early 20th century were routinely portrayed as man-hating spinsters, ignorant, ugly marriage breakers. To many, they were too stupid, too easily influenced or too corrupt to be entrusted with the vote or be permitted to hold office, even though many did so effectively at a local level.

Male hostility against female political activists often took on an overtly sexual

nature – as Mary Fildes, leader of the Manchester Female Reform Association, discovered when she addressed demonstrators at the infamous parliamentary reform rally at Peterloo in 1819. When the yeomanry charged on the crowd (leading to the deaths of 15 protestors) Fildes was truncheoned because she refused to let go of the banner she was carrying. She fell and ripped her dress on a protruding nail and was slashed across her bare breasts by a mounted soldier.

Militant suffrage campaigners were also subjected to sexual assaults by male hecklers – and occasionally the police. In November 1910 many women were physically and sexually assaulted when they attempted to break a police line and enter parliament. Their breasts were pinched, clothes ripped and they were leapt on by the police as they lay on the ground.

Some women used the hostility against them to further their aims. They countered derogatory cartoons and caricatures by appearing as the very epitome of womanhood in their marches and public meetings, often dressing in white to emphasise political purity. Others, however, were broken by the experience and retreated from public life altogether.



Dr Sarah Richardson is a national teaching fellow at the University of Warwick's history department



A protestor outside Trump Tower, October 2016. Misogyny was a hot topic in last year's presidential election campaign



“Before the two world wars, masculinity and femininity were dependent on one another for meaning

GERAINT THOMAS

To understand today's debate about 'misogynistic' male behaviour, we need to look at changes in ideas of 'the gentleman'. Nineteenth-century displays of male chivalry reflected a world where most women relied on men for financial wellbeing – so masculinity and femininity were dependent on one another for meaning.

These Victorian assumptions endured into the 20th century – changing over time but rarely breaking cleanly with the past. Chivalrous practices – such as opening doors for women and insisting on picking up the bill in restaurants – remained commonplace because they conformed to entrenched ideas of 'good' gentlemanly behaviour.

All that began to change in the middle decades of the 20th century. As the service and public sectors expanded and the world

wars created new opportunities in the labour force, the proportion of women (aged 20–64) in paid employment increased from about 30 per cent in 1921 to more than 60 per cent in 1981. A growing proportion of women also remained in employment after marriage. And, amid the industrial depressions of the 1930s and 1970s–80s, which saw male unemployment rise, women became the chief income earners in many households.

These sweeping social changes transformed public attitudes to male gallantry. As women gained greater independence, acts of chivalry were increasingly regarded as an anachronism.

But, while female employment became a symbol of growing gender equality, the workplace also became one of the prime sites of misogyny. This included unequal pay and routine sexual assault such as groping.

Progress was also patchy in the realm of politics. Though political rights were extended to women after the First World War, the political system itself remained largely shaped by pre-1918 attitudes. Many politicians assumed that female voters thought and acted in ways fundamentally different to their male counterparts. According to this world view, young female voters (the so-called 'flappers') were less versed in public affairs, and far more likely to be swayed by a male politician's personal appearance.

For most of the 20th century, 'the wife' remained a crucial accessory for a man



George Cruikshank ridicules female activists in his 1819 caricature, *The Belle-alliance, or the Female Reformers of Blackburn!!!*

hoping to make his way in British politics. Selection panels routinely interviewed the candidate's wife before deliberating on his suitability, and the doting spouse was expected to issue an election appeal – aimed at female voters – on behalf of her husband.

Such enduring assumptions help to explain the misogyny experienced by women who themselves entered politics. As a young candidate in the 1950s, Margaret Thatcher (Roberts until 1951) experienced what she called "an anti-woman prejudice". Norman Dodds, her Labour opponent in Dartford in 1950, apparently "[thought] a great deal of her beauty but not a lot of her election chances – or her brains".

Thatcher's ascent to prime minister in 1979 marked a milestone in women's endeavours to take on what had been exclusively male roles. Yet the House of Commons – itself full of the Victorian language and imagery of 'the honourable gentleman' – was another of those modern workplaces where misogynistic male behaviour, such as sexist heckling,

remained a reality for female MPs. **H**



Dr Geraint Thomas is a lecturer in modern British history at the University of York

DISCOVER MORE

BOOK

► **The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain** by Sarah Richardson (Routledge, 2013)

PAST NOTES

PANTOMIME

OLD NEWS

The fatal result of a ladies' tug-of-war

Sheffield Evening Telegraph
30 July 1887

What really constitutes lady-like behaviour? In 1887, the *Sheffield Evening Telegraph* was highly concerned by reports of ladies engaging in games of tug-of-war, as medical advice at the time feared that such physical activity would be dangerous to the delicate feminine constitution. They even used Shakespeare to back up their argument, by quoting Touchstone, a character from *As You Like It*, who expressed the opinion “adversed to the breaking of ribs as fitting sport for ladies”.

Sport, it seems, was not acceptable for respectable women. The *Sheffield Evening Telegraph* even went so far as to suggest that women should not be allowed to watch games of physical prowess, as the very sight and excitement of sporting activities might prove too much and render them unconscious, or hysterical. The danger that ladies might be in when they engaged in such a ‘rough and tumble’ pastime as the tug-of-war was proved to be justified when the *Telegraph* carried a tragic report from a Harwich school fete. There, some of the ladies present had “indulged in this singularly unfeminine amusement”, with the sad result that one of their number, a married woman, lost her life.

News story sourced from *britishnewspaper-archive.co.uk* and rediscovered by **Fern Riddell**. Fern regularly appears on BBC Radio 3's *Free Thinking*

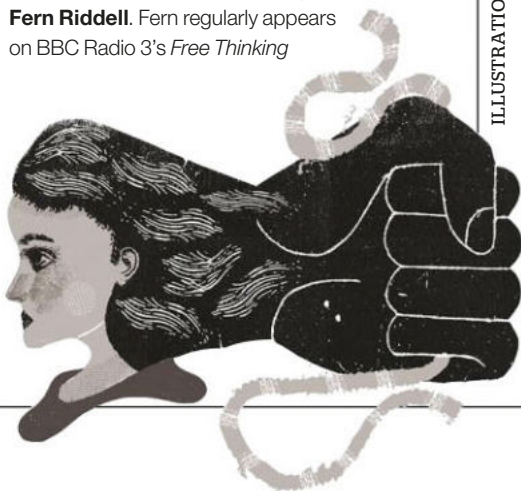


ILLUSTRATION BY BEN JONES



A painting of *Commedia dell'arte* characters including Harlequin and Pierrot

With the pantomime season upon us, **Julian Humphrys** offers a potted history of beanstalks, dames and slapstick

Why pantomime?

It comes from the Latin *pantomimus*, a dramatic performer in ancient Rome. Accompanied by music and a chorus, he ‘mimed’ mythological stories, playing all the roles, each with its own particular mask.

What are the roots of pantomime?

In a form of travelling Italian street theatre called *commedia dell'arte*. Like pantomime, the *commedia* featured knockabout comedy, as well as music, dance and acrobatics. It also boasted a range of stock characters including Pantalone, his daughter Columbine and her admirer Arlecchino, or Harlequin as we call him.

How did this develop into what we watch today?

In the early 18th century John Rich began to stage ‘harlequinades’ at his Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre. Short pieces put on after the evening’s main performance, they were essentially comic chases featuring the *commedia* characters. As time went on these ‘harlequinades’ grew longer, featured dialogue and began to include stories from English popular culture.

The pantomimes with the characters we know today developed in the 19th century. They began as short opening scenes to the harlequinades

but their popularity eventually led to their extension into full stories. The harlequinade was reduced to a short scene at the end and eventually disappeared altogether. The last London harlequinade was staged at the Lyceum Theatre in 1939.

Which of today’s pantomimes has the longest history?

Jack and the Beanstalk, which began life in 1773 as ‘Jack the Giant Killer’ at David Garrick’s Drury Lane Theatre. The first pantomime to be called ‘Jack and the Beanstalk’ was performed there in 1819 and a young actress called Eliza Povey became the first female principal boy when she played the part of Jack. *Jack and the Beanstalk* also marked the debut of one of pantomime’s most famous Dames – Dan Leno who appeared as Jack’s mother, Dame Trot, at Drury Lane in 1886.

Pantomime wouldn’t be the same without a healthy dose of slapstick. But why slapstick?

This form of robust comedy takes its name from a vital piece of pantomime kit – a device made of two pieces of flat wood joined together at one end. When this ‘slapstick’ was applied to the posterior of an actor, it didn’t actually hurt him but delighted audiences by making a resounding whack. **H**



Michael Wood on... 2017's history anniversaries

"You could hardly have a better example of how history matters"

“It’s January, and ahead of us yet another fascinating year of anniversaries to mull over, for historians and history buffs alike. Here are five key ones that have long fascinated me, and about which I am looking forward to learning more in these pages over the next year.

First, the First World War anniversaries keep coming – and quite right too, given its huge impact on our national psyche. After the Somme last year, 2017 brings an even more terrible centenary, among the most weighted words in our history: Passchendaele. “One of the greatest disasters of the war,” as Lloyd George said, Passchendaele is still the embodiment of the horror of conflict, and the recorded reminiscences we can expect to hear on TV and radio next autumn are among the most moving of all its witnesses.

The Arab Revolt against the Ottoman empire was also raging in 1917. In his fascinating new book *The Great War and the Middle East* (2016), the military historian Rob Johnson shows that the revolt was far from a sideshow but at the very heart of the struggle for imperial domination – almost the centre of gravity of the First World War, out of which our troubled modern Middle East would arise. As the tragedies there multiply now, you could hardly have a better example of how history truly matters. No doubt more is to come this year, including new light on the enigma of TE Lawrence.

Then, in October, comes the 500th anniversary of an absolutely crucial event in European history. On 31 October 1517 Martin Luther – according to a possibly apocryphal story – nailed his 95 theses on the church door at Wittenberg and began the Protestant Reformation against the Catholic church. His sermons and his vernacular translation of the Bible would change the world. Luther is a riveting though deeply controversial figure, not least for his anti-Semitism, which left a dark scar across German life that has endured until our own times.

Fourth is the Siege of Constantinople by the Arabs in 717. This is one of the great battles of history. If Constantinople had fallen, the world would have become a very dif-

ferent place. I’m looking forward to new narratives of this incredibly dramatic story, which the Greeks have always thought to be as epoch-making as Marathon and Salamis.

Lastly, 2017 will mark 1,000 years since the marriage of the Danish king Cnut and Emma of Normandy. Readers will recall last year’s anniversaries of the wars that Cnut fought against Æthelred and Edmund Ironside, culminating in the final shattering defeat of the English at Ashington. Then, the following summer, Cnut married the widow of his enemy Æthelred, the mother of the athelings Alfred and Edward (the future Confessor).

Emma married Æthelred in 1002 after the death of his first wife, and would become a major figure in late Saxon England. When she remarried in the summer of 1017, her new husband was now king of the English. He was around 21, and Emma in her early 30s. By him she had the future king Harthacnut. “The most distinguished woman of her time for delightful beauty and wisdom,” she is the subject of the first political biography of a woman in British history, the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. Till recently only one copy was known, but then in Devon Record Office a medieval manuscript copy was identified which appears to be a later version specially revised for her. Sold at auction, it was eventually bought for more than 1 million euros by the Royal Library of Denmark.

After the deaths of Cnut and his sons and successors Harald and Harthacnut, the English nobility recalled from exile Edward, Emma’s son by Æthelred, and in 1042 he was proclaimed king of the English.

Emma would remain a power behind the throne till her death aged nearly 70 in 1052. The wife of two kings and mother of two, she is surely one of the most remarkable female royals in our history. She was buried with Cnut in Winchester where DNA specialists are now trying to identify her bones from jumbled remains in a mortuary chest in the cathedral which carries their names. So among 2017’s many hotly anticipated gifts of history, I for one am hoping to learn more about this extraordinary person! 

Michael Wood

is professor of public history at the University of Manchester.

Download his BBC series *The Story of England* at store.bbc.com/michael-woods-story-of-england



LETTERS

Chronicler of the Klondike

LETTER OF THE MONTH

I thoroughly enjoyed Felicity Aston's article on the Yukon gold rush (*The Deadly Stampede*) in your December edition. The stories of the desperate times and the deadly privations of those who made the often pointless journey to the Klondike made for harrowing reading.

I was surprised that the great chronicler of the Yukon of this time, Jack London, was not mentioned in Aston's article. Imagine my surprise, then, when I glanced at the photo spread that opened the article – and instantly observed the face of Jack London himself looking out at me!

The photo in question was taken on 21 August 1897 by the photographer Frank La Roche, who had been commissioned by the US Geological Survey to record the gold rush. Years later, while searching through the La Roche collection at the University of Washington Library, the Yukon historian Dick North discovered this possible image of the young Jack London. To add credence to the idea that London was pictured, North cited a diary entry by Fred C Thompson, an

associate in London's Klondike party and who travelled with London throughout the Yukon. On 21 August Thompson wrote that the party had reached 'Sheep Camp' (called Sheep Creek in the picture caption in the article).

For the record, the figure of London is purported to be the second figure from

the left in the group on the right side of the photograph.

Adrian Morris, by email

● We reward the letter of the month writer with our 'History Choice' book of the month. This issue it is *Four Princes* by John Julius Norwich. Read the review on page 77



Jack London, "the great chronicler of the Yukon", was reportedly pictured (circled below) in our feature on the Klondike gold rush



Mary's hope for cousin Jane

Nicola Tallis's explanation for why Queen Mary sent Dr John Feckenham to Lady Jane Grey in the Tower of London (*The Curse of the Nine-Day Queen*, November) does not explore the complex relationship between the two women.

As a result of her own loveless childhood, Mary was deeply sentimental, and doted on the honest blue-stockinged Jane. Seeing that Jane had become the unhappy pawn of her toxic parents, hawked around the nation's nobility for whatever dynastic alliance would best push the Suffolks up the greasy Tudor pole, Mary warned her: "Take care, my little cousin."

For Jane's part, Mary was the only blood relative who ever showed her love with no strings attached. For example, though initially Jane told her attendants she could not possibly accept

a sumptuous red dress from Mary, this proved to be the only occasion she ditched her Presbyterian-inspired preference for funereal black and grey attire.

It is no surprise, therefore, that when the Dudley plotters attempted to crown Jane just seconds after she learned of Edward VI's death, she declared in horror: "The crown is not my right and pleaseth me not! The Lady Mary is the rightful heir!" Then, when Phillip II's advisors issued an ultimatum – no marriage with Mary (and therefore no security from foreign invasion for England) until the Protestant Jane was executed – Feckenham became Mary's desperate hope.

She hoped that by converting Jane she might save her little cousin from execution. The failure cast a dark mental shadow over the remainder of Mary's life.

Mark Boyle, Renfrewshire

Century of speed

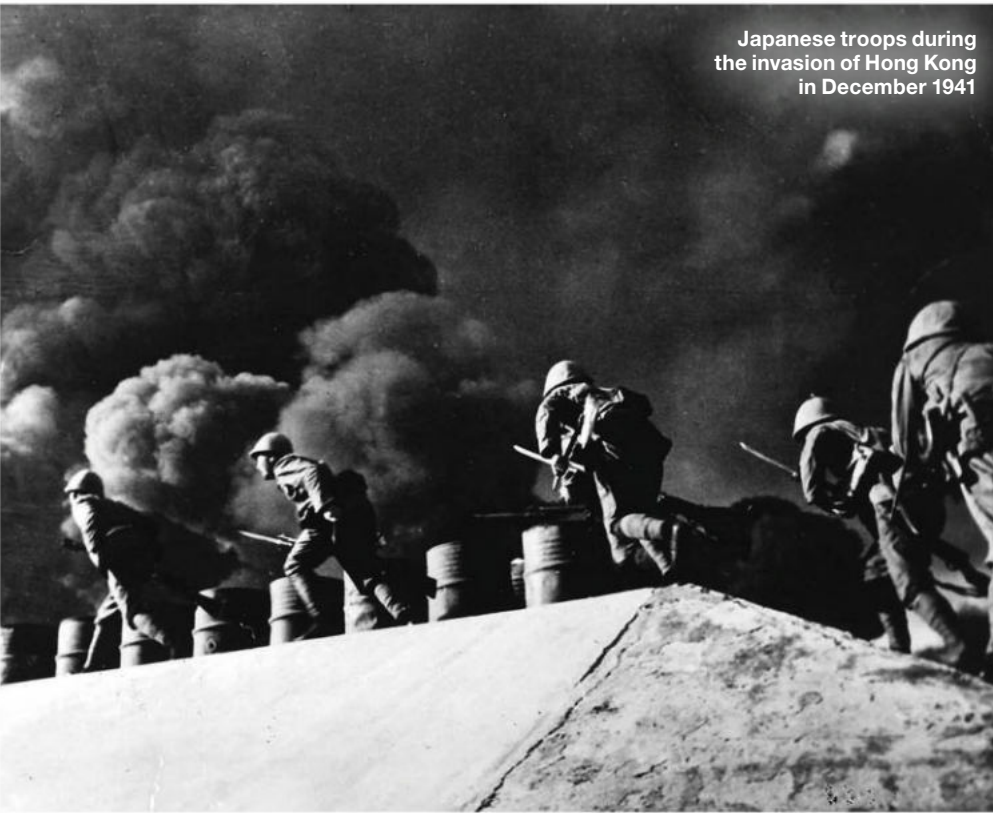
Thank you for Richard J Evans' wonderful article about the 19th century (*Europe's Century of Peace and Progress*, October). I wholeheartedly agree with his assessment that the century is often overlooked. In addition to the many insights he provided, I would add the radical changes in speed. Before then, the horse was the fastest way to communicate and travel, and had been for millennia. The telegraph and, later, the telephone made



The 'Streatham Portrait' of Lady Jane Grey

GETTY

Japanese troops during the invasion of Hong Kong in December 1941



communication much faster, and the locomotive, automobile and airplane got people to where they were going much faster (if not always more safely!).

Dan Kussart, Wisconsin

The impact of occupation

Knowing that *BBC History Magazine* commemorates anniversaries, I'd like to highlight that 8 December was the 75th anniversary of the launch of the Japanese invasion of Hong Kong – at the same time as Japan also bombed Pearl Harbor and invaded Malaya and the Philippines. On 25–26 December 1941, after days of hard fighting, Hong Kong became the first British colony to surrender. Hong Kong was retaken in 1945, but the Japanese occupation was a significant step towards the end of the British empire.

Hugh Dulley, Harrow

Revise the Grand Alliance?

The comments about the election of President Trump made by various historians in the latest edition (*Why Did America Elect Donald Trump?* Christmas) neglect to consider the wider implications for the western world. It seems likely that this result, following on the heels of the British decision to leave the EU, means that 2016 will come to represent a watershed in world politics.

There is now an opportunity for a restoration of the Grand Alliance that won the Second World War – not primarily to fight, but to put the interests of their nations before those of the internationalist elite represented by bodies such as the EU. Though Mr Trump is flawed, and probably is not whom one would choose to be the ideal champion of this cause, he recognises that the American people want major changes. And, once outside the EU, the UK can turn back to the Commonwealth, an organisation whose economic future is much brighter than that of the declining EU.

As far as Russia, the other main component of the old alliance, is concerned, we should cease to regard her as an inevitable opponent. We fought on her side against Napoleon, the kaiser and Hitler. As the outsiders of Europe, we have far more in common with her than with many in the continental heartland.

Colin Bullen, Kent

WRITE TO US

We welcome your letters, while reserving the right to edit them. We may publish your letters on our website. Please include a daytime phone number and, if emailing, a postal address (not for publication). Letters should be no longer than 250 words.

email: letters@historyextra.com

Post: Letters, *BBC History Magazine*, Immediate Media Company Bristol Ltd, Tower House, Fairfax Street, Bristol BS1 3BN

SOCIAL MEDIA

What you've been saying on Twitter and Facebook



@HistoryExtra: From which historical figure do you wish you were descended - and why?

Andy Williams Unlikely – because I'm white – but I would love to be a descendant of Rosa Parks. Would be so proud to tell that story to everyone I meet about the woman who helped change American attitudes.

Fiona Scott-Doran I am a descendant of all of my heroes: Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry II, Llewellyn ap Ioworth, Katherine and John of Gaunt, Robert the Bruce... with genealogy like this I have a lot to live up to, and a choice of relatives to summon when those 'what would X do?' moments hit!

Lisa Drinkwater Boudica – she's such a fascinating person. Anyone who can mobilise a people and fight like she did gets my vote. Not Cartimandua, though, the traitorous wench

Rob Reynolds Marcus Licinius Crassus – a rotten guy, but the family would probably still be rich today

@ruthjoyceart Matilda, the 12th-century bad ass – she fought against Stephen of Blois and ensured her son inherited the crown as Henry II

@laura_grandel13 I'd love to be related to Queen Æthelflæd, daughter of Alfred the Great. When she came to rule, she defeated the Vikings

@geoffrey_tobin Stephen, Count of Tregor, founder of the English parliament (York, 1089). Oh, wait – we all are

@DrAngelaSutton Sophie Scholl, because the world needs her brand of courage right about now

@KatieFellows1 Colonna, a lady ahead of her time. Would have loved an insight into her literary & artistic connections

@teorichards An aunt of mine discovered a family link to American Revolution traitor Benedict Arnold. Secretly a bit proud

@jeannecraigne Isabella I of Castile as she managed to save Spain from being conquered and financial debt, and helped Columbus get to America

Anne Hicks Hampsmire Mary, Queen of Scots is my 14th great aunt. She was an incredibly powerful woman among powerful ruling men. She commanded four countries. Although she fell to Elizabeth I, she was a force to be reckoned with.

How **glorious** was the Glorious Revolution?

Was William of Orange's seizure of the British throne in 1688 a triumph for sensible, constitutional monarchy, or a victory for a cabal of Protestant men at the exclusion of the rest of the nation? **Lucy Worsley** considers the evidence

Accompanies the BBC Four series *Lucy Worsley's A Very British History*





Darkness and light
William III, depicted in a portrait by Godfried Schalcken, has typically been cast – in England at least – as a sympathetic figure, who respected parliament and loved his wife

What's your opinion of William III? Born in Holland in 1650, he took the throne in 1688 after deposing the Catholic James II.

At Hampton Court, where I work as chief curator, we present William as a 'Good King': a patron of art (he built half of our palace), a monarch who respected parliament, and a loving husband to his English wife, Mary, with whom he shared the throne.

Our collection contains a pair of the king's stockings, even a little red silk vest that he wore pinned around his somewhat skinny, asthmatic chest. We often tell the story of how the smog of central London forced England's new king to abandon the damp palace of Whitehall when he took power in 1688, and to rebuild Hampton Court as a pleasant riverside retreat for himself and his beautiful Stuart wife. To many of the visitors coming in search of a lost Baroque world at Hampton Court Palace, William III (William II in Scotland) is a sympathetic figure, a man of taste, less absolutist than those before him, who set the tone for a sensible, constitutional monarchy that would survive until the present day.

But mention the name of King Billy – as they call him in Belfast – in one of the traditionally Catholic parts of the Northern Irish city, and you'll get a very different response. To them, William III is the oppressor of the Irish and the brutal tyrant who crushed his enemies mercilessly at the battle of the Boyne (1690).

Divisive character

How can one man arouse such very different views? It's all to do with the interpretation you prefer to make of the events that brought William III to power, a concatenation of circumstances often known as 'The Glorious Revolution'.

These opposing perspectives were sharply expressed in a debate held in the House of Commons in 1988, about how parliament should celebrate the tercentenary of the so-called Glorious Revolution.

Margaret Thatcher thought that this was an anniversary well worth marking. She described "the invitation to William of Orange and Mary to defend our ancient rights and liberties", William's arrival with his fleet at Torbay in Devon in 1688, and the "peaceful transfer of power which gave rise to the title of the bloodless revolution in England". Neil Kinnock, then leader of the opposition, roughly agreed, though for slightly different reasons. He thought the event important because "it requires us all to consider the

character of our democracy and the ways in which, arduously and slowly, it has been brought thus far to our time".

But then, a dissenting voice spoke out. In no way, claimed MP Tony Benn, did the Glorious Revolution herald "the birth of our democratic rights". Only two per cent of the nation was actually represented in the parliament that brought about this so-called revolution, he pointed out, and all of them were rich, white, Protestant men. The events of 1688 benefited "no working people, no middle-class voters, no women", he said.

So the Glorious Revolution wasn't so 'glorious' for the people who had no voice in the democratic process. And to take an even more extreme line, you *could* describe it as the successful invasion of Britain by a foreign power, motivated by the economic interests of the merchants of Amsterdam.

To William, gaining the British crown would **strengthen his hand against the French**, and make his Dutch homeland more secure

Despite his high-profile confrontation with James II, William III's greatest enemy was the absolutist French king Louis XIV (below)



So what's the truth of the matter? Was the Glorious Revolution 'glorious' or not, and was it even a revolution? In a new series for BBC Four, I have sought to untangle the competing truths behind some of our most powerful national myths. I think that the Glorious Revolution, if anything, is a carefully crafted story, authored by those who most benefited from it – and the more closely you examine it, the more quickly it falls apart.

Even the facts of 1688 are tricky to get straight. Victorian historians like Thomas Babington Macaulay believed that the Glorious Revolution was the foundation stone of Britain's greatness. They liked to claim that William III – then Prince of Orange – was 'invited' to come to England (and also, though this often gets forgotten, to Ireland and Scotland) by the will of the people, who were fed up with being oppressed by the Catholic king James II (James VII in Scotland).

And indeed, a 'letter of invitation' was written in June 1688 by seven grandees opposed to James II's rule, which extended a warm welcome to William as a potential new ruler of Britain. With an eye to maximising the drama of the situation, the story goes that these conspirators met in secret in the cellars of a house named Ladye Place in the Berkshire village of Hurley.

Like all the best adventure stories, this one too contains a 'secret passage', which is supposed to have linked the cellars to the river Thames so that the rebels could arrive there unobserved. This letter written in that secret cellar – it survives in the National Archives – claims that "the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government in relation to their religion, liberty and properties" that "19 parts of 20 of the people throughout the kingdom are desirous of a change".

The seven conspirators signed the letter with codenames, rather than their real identities, so as to reduce the potential penalties for treason if caught. Once the dust had settled, and once it was clear that the 'revolutionary' settlement was going to stick, 18th-century historians dubbed the letter-writers, bishops or aristocrats all, 'The Immortal Seven'. And indeed, even in the 17th century, once William III had arrived in England and was secure on the throne, he visited this cellar – a plaque marks the event – to see where "it had all started".

But of course historians know now that it didn't all start there at all. In the 20th century, scholars with a more European viewpoint realised that far from the 'letter of invitation' being a surprise to William, Prince of Orange, he was already expecting it. The 'letter of invitation'



Jan Wyck's painting shows William at the battle of the Boyne in 1690, where he sealed his reputation among many inhabitants of Ireland as a tyrant

was written in June 1688, but by late 1687, William was already raring to go.

The chance to gain the British throne was attractive to him because of a wider European game of chess in which William, as Stadtholder (rather like a constitutional king) of Holland, was engaged. His deadliest enemy wasn't King James II of Britain, but the even more absolutist Catholic king Louis XIV of France. To William, gaining the British crown would help strengthen his hand against Louis, and make his homeland more secure.

And so, using the pretext of the letter of invitation, William's huge invasion force landed in Devon on 5 November 1688. Consisting of 54 warships, more than 400 supply vessels, 21,000 soldiers, and several printing presses, its members were instructed *not* to describe themselves as invaders. After all, they were coming at the 'invitation' of the British people.

Famously, William's fleet was blown westwards along the Channel towards Devon by a friendly 'Protestant wind', a lucky change in his fortunes after a 'Catholic wind' blowing east had aided James II by trapping William in port for several days.

Throughout the 1700s, the landing at Brixham on 5 November 1688 was celebrated by an annual lighting of bonfires. That, rather than the Guy Fawkes plot, was

what 5 November was all about for the 18th-century Protestant establishment in Britain. For them it represented freedom from the tyrannical James II.

And it is true that, on arrival, William's enormous army received little opposition. Well organised, and a master of propaganda, William widely broadcast his intentions in his printed "Declaration" to the English people, stating that he had come simply to defend the ancient liberties that were being threatened by the blood king, James II.

Maximum humiliation

When James was actually forced to confront William on the battlefield, he withdrew because of a nosebleed, a rather ludicrous, minor injury from which William III, of course, inflicted maximum humiliation.

James II's subsequent flight to the continent and to the protection of Louis XIV allowed William to proclaim his victory as bloodless. But it certainly wasn't, for he had to follow up with force to impose his new regime in Ireland and Scotland, spilling countless lives. Simply securing the throne of England did not achieve the goal of William's broader European game plan. When Louis XIV and James II sponsored rebellion in Ireland, William brought an army of 36,000 to the largest clash of arms ever held on Irish soil.

The revolution and its legacy

Late 1687

William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland, probably decides around now that the English throne would **help him in his struggle against Louis XIV of France**

10 June 1688

James II's son, also James, is born. As the Catholic king now has a male heir, **Protestant fears for the future grow**

30 June 1688

William of Orange receives a 'letter of invitation' from a group of Protestant grandees. In reality, he's probably **already primed to come to England**

5 November 1688

William III and his fleet **land at Brixham in Devon**

23 December 1688

Without putting up much of a fight, **James II (right) goes into French exile**



11 April 1689

William and his wife, Mary, are **crowned as joint monarchs**

LEFT: A medal of the royal couple

1 July 1690

William III personally **crushes resistance to his rule in Ireland**, beating James II in the battle of the Boyne

1773

Historian John Dalrymple names the Protestant plotters against James II as **'The Immortal Seven'**

1848

The year of revolutions in Europe. Historian Thomas Babington Macaulay claims Britain remained peaceful because of the strength of the Glorious Revolution settlement

1988

Tercentenary of the Glorious Revolution. Margaret Thatcher admits its **bitter legacy in Scotland and Ireland**

William's army departs for England in 1688. Within weeks it would bring about regime change, but today its achievements barely register in the English national consciousness



And when members of the Scottish clan of MacDonald were apparently dilatory in pledging allegiance to William and Mary, William's men did not fail to use extreme violence (in an act now known as the Glencoe Massacre) as a tool to bring them round.

The political price William paid for his new throne was the limiting of his freedom of manoeuvre as king. Before he was crowned, representatives of parliament read out to him a statement about what, in future, a sovereign could and could *not* do. And also, he had to share his crown in a joint monarchy. His wife, Mary, was a very important part of his acceptability: as James II's Protestant daughter, she could be presented as her deposed father's heir, keeping it all neatly within the family.

Mild perfection

So did the Glorious Revolution really see parliamentary democracy and a limited monarchy firmly established in Britain? Had the mild, steady, very British progress towards High Victorian perfection begun?

It's a powerful story, but one that hardly anyone believes any more. Marxist historians argue that the *real* revolution of the 17th century took place when Oliver Cromwell killed the king, and that the 'Glorious' one changed hardly anything.

Social historians argue that, far from creating a democratic nirvana, the settlement of 1688 excluded women, Catholics, those without land – indeed, almost anyone other than a powerful handful of Protestant males whose composition scarcely changed.

Social historians argue that, far from creating a democratic nirvana, **1688's settlement excluded women, Catholics, those without land**

That William's wife, Mary (below), was a Protestant Englishwoman with royal blood was key to the success of his revolution

And historians of Scottish and Irish nationalism would be astonished to think that 'King Billy' was forgotten by some and regarded as historically unimportant, such a figure of hate is he in the story of the oppression of the Celtic fringes.

Yet perhaps the most surprising thing about the story of the Glorious Revolution, despite all the impact that it has had on the last 300 years of British history, is that it hardly registers in most English people's consciousness today. The cellar of Ladye Place in the village of Hurley is now a damp ruin in somebody's back garden. No longer is it a place of pilgrimage, and no longer can schoolkids tell you what the Glorious Revolution was all about. Perhaps, if that means an end to the sectarian violence it kicked off, that's a good thing.

Yet what the events of 1688 did undoubtedly give us is one of the country's most beautiful buildings, Hampton Court Palace. Can I invite you to settle on celebrating that, at least, as a truly glorious legacy? **H**

Lucy Worsley is a historian, author and broadcaster as well as being chief curator at Historic Royal Palaces

DISCOVER MORE

TELEVISION

► **Lucy Worsley's A Very British History**, in which she examines some of Britain's most powerful historical myths, is scheduled to be broadcast on BBC Four in January. For more details, go to historyextra.com





The best thing about memories is making them!

Welcome to a place with heritage at its very heart, immerse yourself in centuries of history spanning 5 glorious islands and create memories that will last a lifetime. There's no better time to visit than during our Channel Islands Heritage Festival from 8th April - 10th May and Liberation Day on May 9th, a day of celebrations to commemorate the Island's freedom from German Occupation during World War II. So bring out the bunting, explore our heritage sites and join us to celebrate a group of small Islands with a big history.

Q Search 'Guernsey Memories'
visitguernsey.com/heritage-festival



MAKE GREAT
MEMORIES

in

GUERNSEY

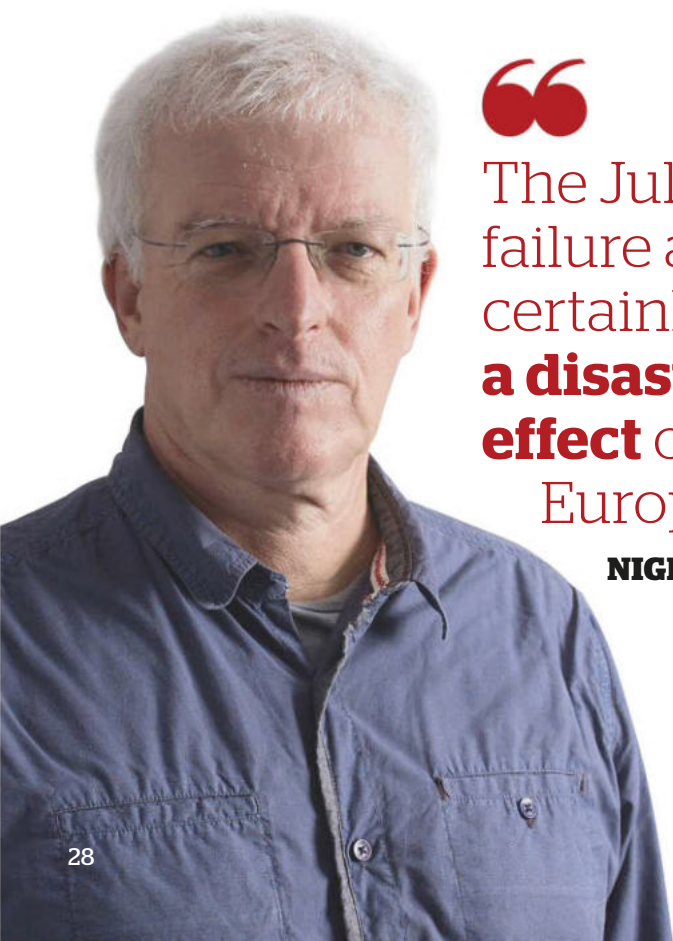
HERM • SARK • ALDERNEY

THE BIG DEBATE

Should we be glad plot to kill Hitler

In the 1944 'July Plot', the German officer Claus von Stauffenberg narrowly failed to assassinate the Nazi leader. His success would have changed the course of history – but for better or worse? **Roger Moorhouse** and **Nigel Jones** debate the issue

PHOTOGRAPHY BY IAN SCOTT AND TOBIAS KEY



“

The July Plot's failure almost certainly had **a disastrous effect** on postwar European history

NIGEL JONES

On 20 July 1944, Lieutenant Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg took a bomb to a meeting at the Wolf's Lair, Hitler's eastern front military headquarters in what is today Poland. His aim was to assassinate the German leader.

A career officer in the army, Stauffenberg had seen combat in many major campaigns and been dismayed by reports of German atrocities. He decided Hitler had to die but he couldn't act alone. He was just one player in a wide-ranging plot of senior-level officials who were increasingly disillusioned with Hitler and his directing of the war. Once the leader was dead, they would launch Operation Valkyrie – a coup that would take control of the government and seek to end the war.

Stauffenberg hid the bomb in a briefcase and carefully positioned it on the floor while he left the room to take a pre-arranged phone call. The bomb exploded, killing four men. Hitler was injured but survived, apparently because the briefcase had been moved. The plot unravelled and the coup was not put into place. Stauffenberg was executed that night. Thousands of people thought to be implicated in the conspiracy were arrested, and nearly 5,000 were eventually executed.

Hitler survived to inflict far more pain on the world for a further 10 months. But would his death in July 1944 have proved even more catastrophic?

Roger Moorhouse: It is, perhaps, too much to suggest that we should be 'glad' that the July Plot failed. But I would argue that we should acknowledge that, for the greater political good, Stauffenberg's brave attempt to assassinate Hitler in July 1944 needed to fail.

Have no doubt, Stauffenberg was a courageous man, and Nazism was a thoroughly odious political system that richly deserved every insult hurled at it. But the

XXXX

d the failed?



The German command HQ on the eastern front at Rastenburg, where a bomb failed to kill Hitler in July 1944. The führer shows the aftermath of the explosion to Italian leader Mussolini

problem for Stauffenberg was that Nazism was also a brutally effective political religion, which had succeeded in seducing and controlling a generation of Germans.

A key part of that seduction – and of the Nazi founding myth – was the ‘stab-in-the-back’: the idea that Germany had been betrayed at the end of the First World War by a shadowy cabal of Jews and socialists, who had brought about the collapse of the kaiser’s regime [that of German emperor Wilhelm II]. It was the ‘stab-in-the-back’ that fostered in the German people an alluring sense of eternal victimhood, a feeling that they were forever the playthings of ‘unseen forces’ and sinister conspiracies.

Fast forward to 1944, and whatever Stauffenberg’s chances of success in his undertaking, the wider point is that the attack on the German chancellor would only ever be interpreted by the German people as yet another ‘stab-in-the-back’, yet more proof that nefarious forces were again seeking to undermine Germany. Hitler would be seen as a martyr; the Nazis as the new saviours. The result would be that, far from being undermined, Nazi rule would be strengthened.

The uncomfortable truth is that for

“
For **Nazism’s**
spell over the
German people
to be broken, it
had to run its
bloody course

ROGER MOORHOUSE



The plot to kill Hitler

Nazism's spell over the German people to be broken, it had to run its bloody course; it had to be seen to fail – utterly, completely and catastrophically. For all its heroism, Stauffenberg's plot risked preventing that. So, while we applaud it, we should also applaud its failure.

Nigel Jones: Although I do have some sympathy with the idea that the failure of the Stauffenberg bomb plot and Germany's subsequent utter destruction has prevented a resurgence of Nazism in postwar Germany, the nub of this argument is a question of numbers.

A huge number of deaths in Europe in the Second World War took place between the failure of the plot in July 1944 and Germany's capitulation in May 1945. These casualties included the western Allies killed in the liberation of France, Benelux and Germany itself; Soviet and German dead on the eastern front; and civilian deaths by bombing in Germany and, for example, in the V-weapon raids on Britain. Above all, perhaps, many of the 6 million Jews murdered in the Holocaust died in the war's final months. All these deaths would have been prevented had Stauffenberg's bomb killed Hitler and his Operation Valkyrie putsch on the same day successfully ended the Nazi regime.

Moreover, the plot's failure almost certainly had a disastrous effect on postwar European history. It enabled the Red Army to impose Stalinist communism on the whole of eastern Europe, a tyranny that divided the continent and only ended in 1989. The resulting poverty in those countries that languished for so long under totalitarian rule is still having an adverse drag on our continent.

Had the plot succeeded and the politically broad-based regime envisaged by the plotters replaced the criminal Nazi rule, then Germany would have remained united, the Berlin Wall would never have been built, and the flower of the German nation murdered by the Nazis in revenge for the plot would have survived to build a better Europe.

Roger Moorhouse: It is certainly true that the death toll, both military and civilian, in the last year of the war increased significantly as the blood-letting seemingly accelerated towards the conflict's end. And, it is natural, perhaps, that we should view those countless deaths as a regrettable consequence of Count Claus von Stauffenberg's failure.

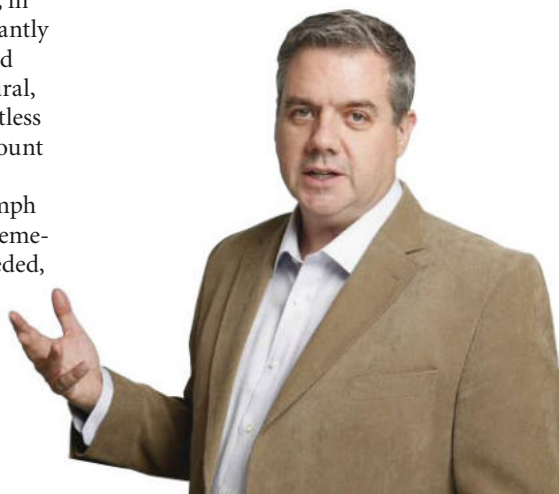
Though understandable, this is a triumph of emotion over reality. In truth it is extremely unlikely, even had Stauffenberg succeeded, that the war would have neatly come to an end in the summer of 1944. There were simply too many obstacles to any



Stauffenberg, shown in 1934, tried to kill Hitler with a bomb in July 1944. Four people died but the German leader survived. Stauffenberg was executed the same day

“It is extremely unlikely, even had Stauffenberg succeeded, that the war would have neatly come to an end in the summer of 1944

ROGER MOORHOUSE



swift return to peace – not least the entrenched forces of Nazi resistance.

A further complicating factor was the curiously unrealistic attitudes of some of Stauffenberg's co-conspirators. Carl Goerdeler, for instance, who was earmarked to assume the role of chancellor, envisaged a postwar Germany retaining both Austria and the Sudetenland. With such people in charge, Stauffenberg's plotters would have had a very hard time negotiating peace at all.

In addition, the Sovietisation of Europe would hardly (as Nigel suggests) have been halted by a German surrender in the summer of 1944; if anything it would have been accelerated. With German troops laying down their arms, there would have been nothing to stop Stalin's Red Army from advancing unopposed through Germany and into France, where it would have met the still-comparatively puny forces of the British and Americans.

Paradoxically then, it is arguably only Stauffenberg's failure, and Germany's costly fighting retreat on the eastern front, which enabled Allied armies to liberate western Europe and so ensure that liberty and democracy had the toehold that they did in Europe after 1945. Another reason, I suggest, to welcome the brave count's failure.

Nigel Jones: It is, of course, impossible to know for certain what would have happened in Germany and in Europe had Count von Stauffenberg succeeded in his heroic endeavour – we can only speculate. However, we do know for certain what *did* happen in the last terrible year of the war: millions of unnecessary deaths and displacements, the ruin of much of Europe, and the forced imposition of a new totalitarian tyranny – communism – over half the continent. It is more than likely that these evils would have been mitigated, if not entirely prevented, had the bomb killed Hitler.

The Nazi regime was so identified with the personality of the führer that his elimination at the hands of his own military would have had a terminally catastrophic effect on Germany's national morale and led to a speedy surrender of Germany's forces fighting in France, which were already crumbling anyway. Paris was the one place where Stauffenberg's putsch briefly succeeded and the SS Nazis were arrested by the Wehrmacht [armed forces]. Only when it became clear that Hitler had survived did the coup collapse.

On the eastern front, the well-justified fears of Soviet rapes and atrocities might have kept the German army in being, intent on defending their families as the new regime negotiated with the Allies. The postwar division of the country into Soviet and western zones would thus have been less likely. Even if the plotters'



A 1944 Soviet propaganda poster shows the Nazis at the mercy of the Red Army. If the July Plot had succeeded, leading to a German surrender, might the Sovietisation of Europe have been halted?

government had been compelled to surrender unconditionally, that would still have been infinitely preferable to the ghastly events of 1944–45 that Hitler's survival guaranteed.

Roger Moorhouse: While I appreciate the optimistic sentiments behind these suggested scenarios, I cannot share them. Stauffenberg's plot, though in many ways admirable and the closest to achieving its goal, was nonetheless fundamentally flawed, and, I think, doomed to failure. Killing Hitler was never enough. One also had to mount a coup to bring down the government. This meant that Stauffenberg – whose allies, for all their moral bravery, were largely wavering and indecisive – had to be in two places at once; in Rastenburg to kill Hitler and then in Berlin to lead the coup.

In the event he managed to do neither, and the attempt collapsed. However, I would argue that even had he succeeded in killing Hitler, the Nazi government would have been very difficult to dislodge, not least because the coup plotters were regrettably rather less brutally determined than they might have been. A swift Nazi collapse, and a silencing of the guns, is – sadly – wishful thinking.

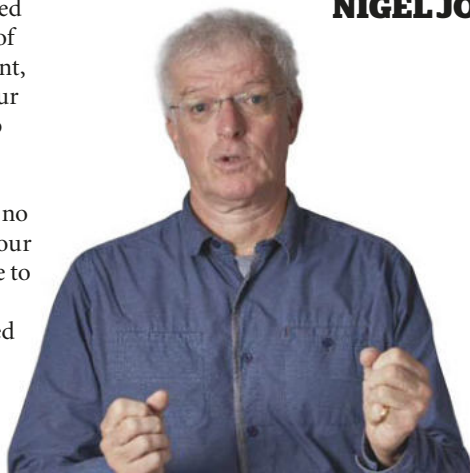
Moreover, I think we fall in to the trap of assuming that Stauffenberg and his co-conspirators – because they were seeking to bring the Nazis down – were somehow 'on our side'. They were not. They were German nationalists first and foremost, who wanted to salvage something from the wreckage of Nazism. In lionising Stauffenberg as a saint, we overlook the fact that – for all his valour and morality – he was politically closer to Hitler than he was to Churchill.

Nigel Jones: Stauffenberg was certainly no saint – but he was a genuine hero, and in our distinctly unheroic age, we may be unable to recognise his rare qualities.

The July plotters, energised and inspired

“
They risked
**horrifying
torture**, a
humiliating
public trial,
disgrace... and
a painful and
prolonged death

NIGEL JONES



by Stauffenberg's charisma, were by no means the narrow nationalists that Roger suggests. They were in fact a broad front, ranging from ultra-conservatives like Carl Goerdeler; old fashioned Prussian military men like Ludwig Beck and Erwin von Witzleben, adhering to antiquated but honourable codes and values; idealistic internationalists such as Helmuth James Graf von Moltke and his Kreisau Circle; Catholic and Protestant clergy such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer; Social Democrats and trade unionists including Julius Leber; and even communists. Unrealistic in their political aims they may have been; Nazi-lite they definitely were not. Stauffenberg was typical of them in having himself moved from a position of aristocratic elitism to favouring a post-Hitler government embracing strands of political opinion ranging from reactionaries to Marxists. About the only point dividing them by July 1944 was whether Hitler should be assassinated or arrested and put on trial.

Most of the conspirators were Christians. Some had admittedly sympathised with the Nazis as firm anti-Bolsheviks in the early days of the regime, but by 1944 all were appalled enough by the atrocities of the Nazis and the criminal nature of the Hitler regime to take armed action – however ineptly executed – against it. And they did this knowing full well that in the event of the plot's all too likely failure, they risked arrest, horrifying torture, a humiliating public trial, disgrace in the eyes of many of their brainwashed compatriots, and a lonely, painful, and prolonged death. If that is not courage to admire and emulate, I do not know what it is. The failure of Stauffenberg's brave attempt to destroy Hitler and his evil regime was one of the worst tragedies of the whole tragic war. But it set an example of supreme moral and physical courage that has rarely been surpassed. ■

Roger Moorhouse is a historian and author with a particular interest in Nazi Germany, the Holocaust and the Second World War
Nigel Jones is a historian, biographer and journalist who has written several books about the two world wars

DISCOVER MORE

BOOKS

- **Killing Hitler: The Third Reich and the Plots Against the Fuhrer** by Roger Moorhouse (Jonathan Cape, 2006)
- **Countdown to Valkyrie: The July Plot to Assassinate Hitler** by Nigel Jones (Frontline, 2009)

SOCIAL MEDIA

- Should we be glad that Hitler survived the assassination attempt?
- Let us know via **Twitter** or **Facebook**
- ✉ twitter.com/historyextra
- 📘 facebook.com/historyextra



Save when you subscribe
to the digital edition



Available from



zinio™



BBC History Magazine is Britain's bestselling history magazine. We feature leading historians writing lively and thought-provoking new takes on the great events of the past.



Enjoy our Premium App experience now available from



zinioTM



BBC **HiSTORY**
MAGAZINE



THE ANGLO-SAXONS' LAST STAND



Trial by fire

The Bayeux Tapestry shows William the Conqueror ordering his troops to harry the Sussex countryside in 1066. Many other regions of England would suffer a similar fate in the years that followed

The spirit of the Anglo-Saxons didn't die at the battle of Hastings. William I faced years of resistance from a populace resentful of the Norman takeover. **Marc Morris** charts the defiant attempts to fight the conquerors

Accompanies the BBC Two series *1066*

BBC
TWO



Even by medieval standards, the body count at the battle of Hastings was unusually high. “Far and wide,” wrote William of Poitiers, chaplain to the victorious William the Conqueror, “the earth was covered with the flower of the English nobility and youth, drenched in blood.” Chief among the fallen, with or without an arrow in his eye, was the recently crowned king of England, Harold Godwinson.

The death of Harold, along with two of his younger brothers and countless other Englishmen of rank, meant that the clash on 14 October 1066 was decisive, and it quickly came to be regarded as the watershed moment in English history. A little over half a century later, the Anglo-Norman historian William of Malmesbury described it as “a fatal day for England, a melancholy havoc for our dear country, brought about by its passing under the domination of new lords”.

But even the most decisive defeats do not necessarily seem so at the time. In the months and years immediately after Hastings, many people in England chose to resist the Norman conquest in the hope that the verdict of the battle might prove reversible. When news of Harold’s death reached London a few days later, the remaining members of the English elite vowed to fight on. They elected as their new king Edgar Ætheling, a great nephew of the late Edward the Confessor, and the last surviving male representative of the Old English royal line.

William, who had been waiting hopefully

When news of Harold’s death reached London, the remaining members of the English elite vowed to fight on

at Hastings for English submissions, thus resumed his military campaign. In the weeks that followed, he led his army on a harrying campaign through the Home Counties, devastating the countryside around London in an effort to persuade its citizens to surrender. Shortly before Christmas, resolve in the capital crumbled. A delegation of bishops and magnates, including the young Edgar Ætheling, met William at Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire and recognised him as their new ruler. A short time later, on Christmas Day itself, the Conqueror was crowned at Westminster Abbey as England’s new king.

Many people, English and Norman alike, clearly hoped that William’s consecration would bring the violence of the conquest to an end. Since the crown had been his objective, the new king could well have declared, like George Bush in 2003, “mission accom-

plished”, and assumed, like the former president, that “major combat operations” had ended. In March 1067 William returned to Pevensey, where he had landed six months earlier, and dismissed his army of invasion. He then crossed the Channel to Normandy, where he spent the spring and summer in extended victory celebrations.

But, as in 2003, so in 1067, this was not “mission accomplished” at all. William’s coronation was followed by five years of almost constant insurgency as the English, in the words of one chronicler, “plotted ceaselessly to find some way of shaking off a yoke that was so intolerable and unaccustomed”. In the course of this extended struggle, many times more people would perish than had done so at Hastings.

Temporary absence

Despite his acclamation in Westminster Abbey, William was under no illusion about his unpopularity in England, and realised that even a temporary absence might tempt his new subjects to renege on their recent oaths. On his return to Normandy in 1067, he took with him the most powerful of the English elite, including three surviving earls, the archbishop of Canterbury and Edgar Ætheling.

At the same time, he left the government of his new kingdom to two of his most trusted lieutenants: his half-brother, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, and William FitzOsbern, a lifelong friend. According to the pro-Norman William of Poitiers, these men governed the English firmly but fairly, paying “the greatest respect to justice”. The half-English Orderic



Terrible consequences
Peasants working in the fields in an Anglo-Saxon calendar. Many would perish as the Normans strove to stamp out English resistance to their rule

surviving members of the Godwinson family: King Harold's sons, and his mother, Gytha. At the start of 1068 William marched west and laid siege to Exeter, causing the leaders of the conspiracy to flee overseas and the rest of the citizens to submit.

Anger boils over

The king may have been tempted to write off this rebellion as the last gasps of a faction that was never going to be reconciled to his rule. The Godwinsons were die-hard rebels, but the army he had led to defeat them was comprised, at least in part, of English troops, who had thus demonstrated their loyalty. Again he dismissed his forces and, as a further mark of confidence, sent for his wife, Matilda, who crossed from Normandy and was crowned at Westminster on 11 May. Witness lists to charters drawn up on the day show that both Norman and English magnates were in attendance.

But behind this apparent unity was a more dangerous groundswell of discontent, caused in large part by the redistribution of land. At the very start of his reign William had deemed all land in England forfeit. Many of those who had submitted to him after his coronation had been allowed to buy back their estates, but much confiscated property had been given out as rewards to his Norman followers, especially in cases where the former English owners had died at Hastings.

The problem was that giving the lands of dead Englishmen to continental

newcomers was rarely as neat as it appears in Domesday Book, for the dead almost always had relatives – sons, brothers, uncles or cousins – whose expectations of inheritance were thereby dashed. Such people ended up with a reduced stake in society, or no stake at all. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle summarises William's behaviour in early 1068 by saying "he gave away every man's land". Orderic Vitalis adds that the English were angry not simply because of "the deaths of their kinsmen", but also because of "the loss of their patrimonies".

In the summer of 1068 this anger was converted into a

major rebellion. Its leaders included the Earl of Mercia, Eadwine, and his brother Morcar, the Earl of Northumbria. Both were young men, perhaps smarting at the humiliation of being taken to Normandy as hostages the previous year, and resentful at the intrusion of new Norman lords into their respective territories. They were joined by many others, including Edgar Ætheling, who could be advanced as an alternative king, just as he had been in 1066.

This rebellion was a complete fiasco. William quickly marched into the Midlands, at which point both Eadwine and Morcar submitted, and then advanced to York, causing Edgar and the other rebels to flee to Scotland. In the course of this campaign the Conqueror cemented his grip on the Midlands by planting castles at Warwick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntingdon and Cambridge. Satisfied that the rising had been crushed, he once again disbanded his army and crossed to Normandy.

But if the Midlands had been pacified, the north had not. Before his departure, William had appointed a new earl of Northumbria, a foreigner called Robert Cumin, who descended on Durham in January 1069 and was promptly killed by the locals, along with all his mercenary followers. This massacre triggered a new general rising across northern England. The Northumbrian leaders who had fled to Scotland the previous year now returned in force and laid siege to the new castle that William had constructed in York (the site now known as Clifford's Tower).

The king wasted no time in returning to England to crush this revolt, raising the siege and dispersing the rebels. On this occasion there were no submissions. In expectation of further trouble, he ordered a second castle to be constructed on the opposite bank of the Ouse, and left William FitzOsbern in command of the city.

The Danes wade in

Trouble was not long in coming. Ever since 1066, the English had been appealing for assistance from Scandinavia, and at this point the King of Denmark, Swein Estrithson, decided to pile into the fray, hopeful of winning himself a second crown. In September 1069, Danish forces sailed up the river Humber and quickly seized York, slaughtering its Norman garrisons. They were joined by the Northumbrian rebels, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "and all the people, riding and marching with an immense army, rejoicing exceedingly".

At this moment, more than any other, the Norman conquest hung in the balance. Throughout 1068 William had faced the

Vitalis begged to differ, and accused the two regents of protecting Norman soldiers who were guilty of plunder and rape.

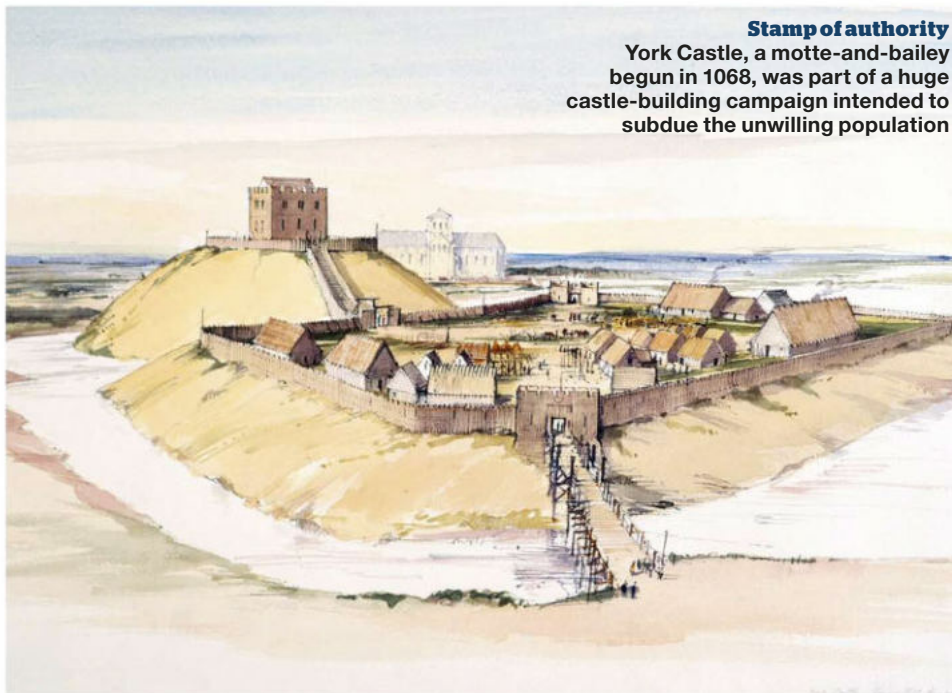
Both writers describe how the king's deputies enforced their rule by building new castles, a move that clearly came as a great shock to the English. Castles were very much a French phenomenon, common enough on the continent by 1066, but virtually unknown in England. For the most part constructed from earth and timber, and built to the well-known 'motte and bailey' design, they were both weapons of conquest and badges of oppression. "Bishop Odo and Earl William," lamented the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "built castles far and wide throughout the land, oppressing the unhappy people."

Norman oppression provoked English resistance. During the summer of 1067, the regents faced trouble in the Welsh marches as well as a rising in Kent, both of which were easily overcome. Towards the end of the year, it became clear that something more co-ordinated was being plotted. That December, William returned to England and tried to sniff out the conspiracy at his Christmas court. It turned out to be based in the West Country, and its leaders were the

William felt secure enough to send for his wife Matilda in 1068 for her coronation



Resisting the Conquest



Stamp of authority
York Castle, a motte-and-bailey begun in 1068, was part of a huge castle-building campaign intended to subdue the unwilling population

problem of desertion, as the keepers of several castles quit their posts and returned home to Normandy, having decided that the rewards on offer in England were simply not worth the risk. The king had relied on castles to enforce his rule, but the two large garrisons in York had been overwhelmed, and elsewhere across the country other new fortresses now came under attack from the English.

The Normans up the ante

William spent a desperate autumn in 1069 marching his troops back and forth across England, trying to stamp out these many fires. Risings in the West Country and the Welsh marches were in due course crushed, but in the north the Danes remained elusive, and despite retaking York in December the king found he could not get near their fleet.

Faced with this impasse, and frustrated by the continued resistance of the north despite three gruelling campaigns, William decided to solve the problem by different means. His first move was to strike a deal with the Danes, allowing them to remain in England during the winter and plunder along the coast, on condition that they departed the following spring.

He then embarked on the second part of his plan, which was to make northern England untenable by any army, Danish or English. "In his anger," wrote Orderic Vitalis, "he commanded that all crops and herds, chattels and food of every kind should be brought together and burned... so that the whole region north of the Humber might be stripped of all means of sustenance."

The Harrying of the North,

as it has become known, was the most notorious episode of William's career. Harrying itself was standard practice in medieval warfare, but the scale of the destruction visited upon northern England that winter had such terrible consequences that even contemporary writers felt it was excessive. A widespread famine followed. Orderic Vitalis put the death toll at more than 100,000, and an analysis of Domesday data suggests he was correct. Writing half a century later, the half-English chronicler declared that God would punish the king for his "brutal slaughter".

Brutal as it was, the Harrying brought the rebellion of the north to an end, and with it any serious threat of English resistance to Norman rule. It also marked a sea-change in William's attitude towards his new subjects. At the beginning of his reign he had tried to

The king had relied on castles to enforce his rule, but across the country new fortresses now came under attack from the English

William the Conqueror shown in a 15th-century book illumination

settle with the surviving English, intending to rule a kingdom that was genuinely Anglo-Norman. But the rapaciousness of his fellow conquerors and the resistance of the natives had led to an increasingly vicious circle of disinheritance, rebellion and death. According to Orderic Vitalis, William had initially attempted to learn English, but eventually abandoned the effort. Certainly it was around 1070 that royal chancery scribes abandoned their longstanding practice of writing in English and switched to Latin. It was also in 1070 that the Conqueror purged the English church of many of its native bishops and abbots, replacing them with foreign clerks from his own chapel.

This change of heart was all too apparent when a final English rising broke out in 1071. Unlike its predecessors, this was a localised revolt, and had the character of a hopeless last stand by desperate men. The abbot of Ely, a monastery in the fens of eastern England, fearing deposition and replacement, had turned for help to a renegade local lord called Hereward, known to posterity as 'the Wake'. Others soon joined them, including the bishop of Durham and several hundred English exiles from Scotland.

William eventually descended on Ely and subjected it to an elaborate siege, forcing the rebels to surrender. Unlike on previous occasions, there were no pardons in exchange for promises of future good behaviour. The leading rebels, including the bishop of Durham and Earl Morcar, were cast into prison for the rest of their lives, while those of lesser status were deprived of their hands and eyes. Only Hereward avoided both these fates, stealing away through the fens with a band of followers.

Meanwhile, Morcar's older brother, Eadwine, had not even made it as far Ely. His efforts to raise rebellion in Mercia had come to nothing, and the earl was soon reduced to the status of an outlaw. In the end he was killed after being betrayed by his own servants – who had presumably by this point concluded that there was no longer any hope of resisting the Norman conquest. **H**

Marc Morris is a medieval historian. His latest book is *William I: England's Conqueror* (Allen Lane, 2016)

DISCOVER MORE

BOOK

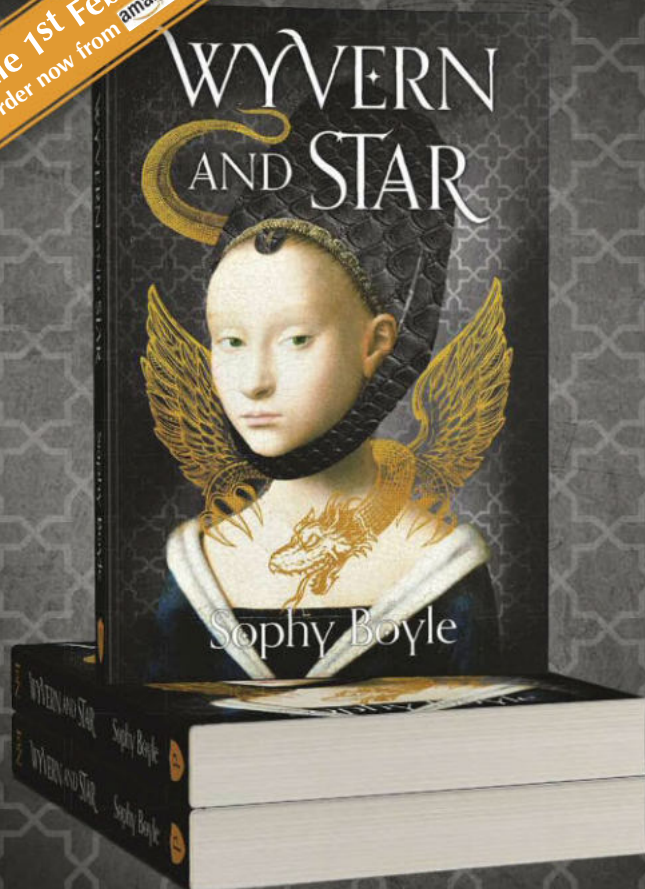
► **The Norman Conquest** by Marc Morris (Windmill Books, 2013)

TELEVISION

► Marc Morris will feature in the series **1066**, which is scheduled to air on BBC Two soon



On sale 1st February
Pre-order now from 



VENGEANCE IS LAME. BUT IT IS COMING

The year is 1470. It's a decade since the house of York destroyed Robert Clifford's life and drove him from his lands; a decade of wandering exile and waning hopes.

Now the house of Lancaster is rising once more and Robert leaps at the chance to reclaim what is his. But the stakes are impossibly high and in the storm to come, he risks the loss of his companions, his sons and Alice de Vere, the woman he loves.

www.wyvernandstar.com

£8.99 paperback, £3.99 Kindle

Join us for the Return of
the Vikings to York!

JORVIK ^{33rd} Viking Festival

20th to 26th February 2017

Discover over **100 Norse-themed events**
for all the family to enjoy including:

- Living History Encampments
- Walks, talks and lectures
- Thrilling combat events

And much, much more!

Discover the full programme
www.jorvikvikingfestival.co.uk



#JVF17



mshed.org

Yasmin Khan

Join us for
two day-events
in Bristol

BBC **Hi**STORY MAGAZINE **EVENTS**

Victorians Day

Saturday 25 February 2017, 10am–5.30pm

Venue: M Shed, Princes Wharf, Bristol BS1 4RN

With Saul David, Kathryn Hughes, Jerry White, Frank Trentmann and Jane Ridley

Delve into the fascinating stories of Victorian Britain and discover the life of the monarch who gave this era its name. This event includes a buffet lunch and regular teas and coffees

"Famous Victorians and their Unruly Body Parts"
Kathryn Hughes

"The Debtors' Prison in Victorian London: Fact and Fiction"
Jerry White

"The Light Brigade: Who Blundered?"
Saul David

"Private Comfort, Public Spirit: Victorian Consumer Culture in a Global Context"
Frank Trentmann

"Queen Victoria: The True Story"
Jane Ridley

> Visit historyextra.com/events for full details

World War II Day

Sunday 26 February 2017, 10am–5.30pm

Venue: M Shed, Princes Wharf, Bristol BS1 4RN

With Lloyd Clark, Laurence Rees, Yasmin Khan, Daniel Todman and Nicholas Stargardt

Get fresh perspectives on several aspects of the war, including the battle for France, the German view and the Holocaust. This event includes a buffet lunch and regular teas and coffees

"Blitzkrieg, France 1940: Man, Machine and Myth"
Lloyd Clark

"The Holocaust: Meeting Those who were There"
Laurence Rees

"Fighting Different Wars: Britain's Many Different Second World Wars and Why They Matter"
Daniel Todman

"What were They Fighting for? German Mentalities in World War Two"
Nicholas Stargardt

"Women and War in the British Empire"
Yasmin Khan

> Visit historyextra.com/events for full details

**SPECIAL
EVENT**



**PLUS:
Bettany Hughes
on Istanbul**

**Saturday 25 February
2017, 7pm–8pm M Shed**

Join historian, broadcaster and author Bettany Hughes for an evening in-conversation session about the history of one of the world's most important cities. The event will be followed by a book signing.

Tickets are priced at £12 for subscribers or those who have purchased tickets for either or both day events. The price for other attendees is £14

**Tickets
on sale
now**

Book tickets online at **historyextra.com/events**
or call **0871 620 4021***

Please quote the code SUBSMshed and have your subscriber number to hand when booking (you can find this on the address label of your magazine). If you have a digital subscription, please forward your subscription order confirmation to events.team@immediate.co.uk and our digital marketing team will supply you with a code for reduced rate tickets.

*calls cost 13p per minute plus network extras. Lines open 24 hours a day

Tickets:

£70 per day for subscribers to *BBC History Magazine*

£80 per day for non-subscribers

£12/£14 for the Bettany Hughes talk

TERMS AND CONDITIONS We reserve the right to replace any speaker with an alternative of equal stature in the unlikely event that they are unable to attend. Please let us know when booking of any special access and/or dietary requirements. *BBC History Magazine* subscribers should have their subscriber number to hand when booking. Tickets are non-refundable and places are limited. A £2.25 transaction fee applies to all bookings.

STEVE SAYERS

GOD, GANGS AND GARIBALDI

Sicily boasts a tumultuous history – one that has brought it closer to Britain than we might think. **Michael Scott** reveals five surprising links between the two islands

Accompanies *Sicily with Michael Scott*, due to air soon on BBC Two

BBC TWO



Giuseppe Garibaldi and his Redshirts fight to free Palermo, capital of Sicily, in a 19th-century engraving. Garibaldi's campaign for Italian unification made him an unlikely hero in 1860s Britain



A painting shows Roger I fighting Muslim forces at Cerami. Victory here would make the Normans the dominant force on the island of Sicily

1 The other Norman conquest

More than one island's history was transformed by a Norman invasion in the 1060s

The year 1066 is heavy with meaning for England: it marked the bloody moment a foreign leader overthrew the nation – and, in so doing, changed the course of its history. But William's was not the only Norman conquest at the time.

The Normans launched an assault on Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean, in 1061 – five years before William set off across the English Channel. At the head of the invasion force were Roger de Hauteville and his brother Robert, called Guiscard, members of a group of Norman mercenary soldiers who had settled in southern Italy in the preceding decade. Supported by Pope Nicholas II (who had, rather prematurely, made Robert the “duke of Sicily yet to be conquered”), they sought to capture Sicily from its Arab rulers.

In May 1061, Robert and Roger crossed from mainland Italy to

Messina, at Sicily's far-eastern tip, with a small force of 150 knights and their mounts, plus 450 auxiliaries. Unlike William's lightning conquest five years later, it took the brothers 30 years to fully conquer Sicily – not least because Robert was often distracted by threats to his power in southern Italy.

The Norman conquest of the island would, though, prove to launch a golden age for Sicily – not simply because it augured a period of strong leadership, but because under the Normans the island was a beacon for tolerance and multiculturalism in an increasingly divided world. Roger, who ruled Sicily until his death in 1101, kept many of the local Arab rulers in place and maintained their bureaucratic system. He also established the island as an international market, encouraging trade with people from all points of the compass.

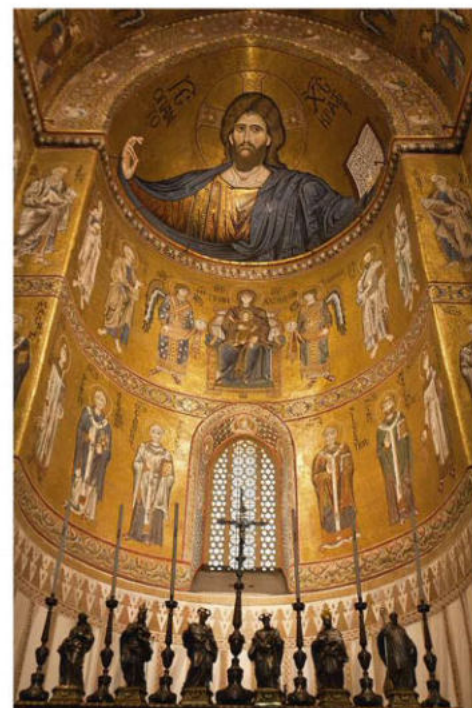
2 In thrall to Thomas Becket

Why an English saint was venerated in Palermo

Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered in 1170 by a group of knights supposedly acting at the behest of Henry II of England. By 1173 Henry had offered penance for the death, and Becket had been canonised by Pope Alexander III. A year later, the Norman Sicilian king William II started work on a new cathedral at Monreale outside Palermo. In the centre of the apse of this magnificent new edifice was emblazoned a huge mosaic of Christ Pantocrator (‘All Powerful’) above an array of saints – including none other than Thomas Becket, identified by a Latin inscription. This icon is the earliest known depiction of the archbishop anywhere in the world, and stands in one of the most prominent positions in the church at Monreale.

So why was Sicily – and, particularly, William II – such a fan of Thomas Becket? Sicily had long been connected to Becket and his family. A letter from Becket still exists, thanking William and his mother, Margaret, for the hospitality they had given his family. William's wife was Joan, daughter of Henry II of England and a firm fan of Becket.

Monreale was not the only place in Sicily to honour Saint Thomas. The cathedral in the town of Marsala at the island's western tip was also dedicated to him – his statue still adorns the front exterior.



Christ Pantocrator towers over an array of saints, including Thomas Becket, in the main apse of Palermo's Monreale Cathedral

GETTY/ALAMY

3 Sicily's go-to scholar

The Scot who became Frederick II's brain trust

In 1198 Frederick II was crowned king of Sicily. His court at Palermo was a cultural and philosophical hothouse of the Middle Ages, attracting some of the brightest minds in the world – including a near namesake of mine, Michael Scot.

Scot was born around 1175, possibly on the England–Scotland border. He became an ordained priest as well as a philosopher, mathematician and astrologer. Studying in Durham, Oxford, Paris and Bologna, Scot also learned Arabic. Attracted to the polyglot court, Scot – then aged around 50 – worked with others to translate Arabic versions of, and commentaries on, Aristotle's works into Latin. He was also Frederick's go-to scholar for questions on subjects ranging from geography to the locations of hell, purgatory and heaven, as well as studies of the soul.

Scot published on alchemy, astrology and physiognomy, and also gained a reputation as a man of magic – supposedly turning to stone a group of witches. This popular reputation earned him a place in Dante's *Inferno* in the eighth circle of hell (his patron, Frederick II, managed only the sixth).

4 Britain fetes Garibaldi

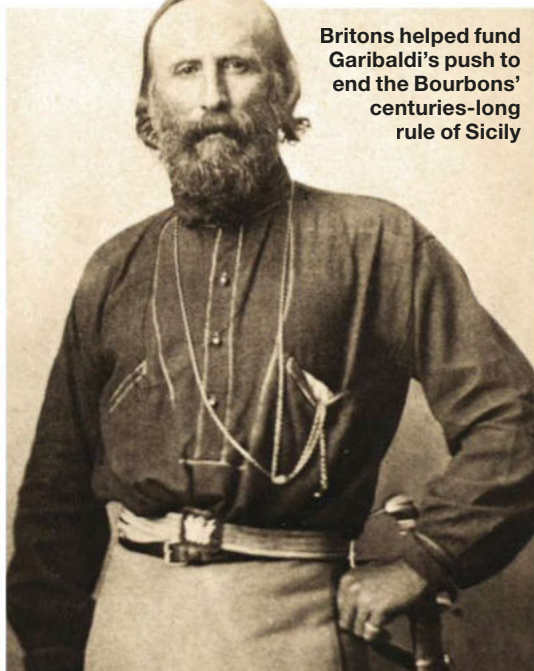
The Italian nationalist's conquest of Sicily made him the toast of polite society

On 11 May 1860, Giuseppe Garibaldi landed at the Sicilian port of Marsala with 1,000 troops. His aim was to liberate Sicily from its Spanish Bourbon rulers in the name of the Sardinian king Victor Emmanuel II,

and to kick-start the unification of Italy. Garibaldi was no stranger to guerrilla warfare: he had fought in Brazil and Uruguay, as well as in Italy, and was used to having huge odds stacked against him. Within a month he had taken Palermo and in little over a year he had driven the Bourbons out of Sicily. Not for nothing is he known as one of the fathers of Italy.

The story of Garibaldi's great crusade made headlines in the US, in Russia and, perhaps most notably, in Britain. The idea of freeing Sicily from the Spanish Bourbons inspired Britons not only to follow the news of Garibaldi's invasion, but to actively support it, raising money for his cause. We know that figures as illustrious as Charles Dickens and Florence Nightingale donated.

His conquest of Sicily complete, next Garibaldi launched an attack on the other great Bourbon kingdom of southern Italy, Naples, having hitched a lift across the straits of Messina with the support of the British Royal Navy. And as he entered the fray, Britain honoured him with perhaps the ultimate accolade: the invention of a biscuit. The creation of the 'Garibaldi' launched the ultimate teatime showdown: Bourbons v Garibaldi.



Britons helped fund Garibaldi's push to end the Bourbons' centuries-long rule of Sicily

5 The gangsters' paradise

When British and American forces liberated Sicily in 1943, it was the mafia that profited most

In July 1943, Allied forces secured their first key foothold in Europe – on Sicily. The Americans landed at Gela in the south-west, the British between Pachino and Pozzallo in the far south-east, with a combined force of 160,000 men. The decision to invade Europe via Sicily was one of the best-kept secrets of the Second World War. A significant element in its success was the triumph of misdirection codenamed Operation Mincemeat: the body of a 'Royal Marine' (actually a tramp), carrying false invasion plans (naming the targets as Sardinia and Greece) was dropped into the ocean for the German forces to pick up.

As Operation Husky began, American general George Patton and his British counterpart Bernard Montgomery led the charge for 40 days and 40 nights. British troops suffered 12,800 casualties, the Americans 8,800. But the cost to Sicily was even heavier: many of its cities suffered aerial bombardment, and Messina was the most heavily bombed of all Italian cities.

But there was also another, less-well-

known cost. In preparation for the invasion, Allied forces worked hard to ensure that the Sicilian mafia would support the Allied cause. The US even paroled mafia boss Charles 'Lucky' Luciano and returned him to Sicily. At the end of the war, many of these mafia men were confirmed in quasi-official positions of power across Sicily by the Anglo-American postwar administration, paving the way for decades of Mafia-led construction and drug rackets. In their efforts to win freedom for Europe, the Allies gave the mafia a vital shot of adrenaline and a new lease of life – and Sicily is still paying the price to this day. **H**

Michael Scott is an author, broadcaster and associate professor at the University of Warwick.
@drmicahelsscott / michaelsscottweb.com

DISCOVER MORE

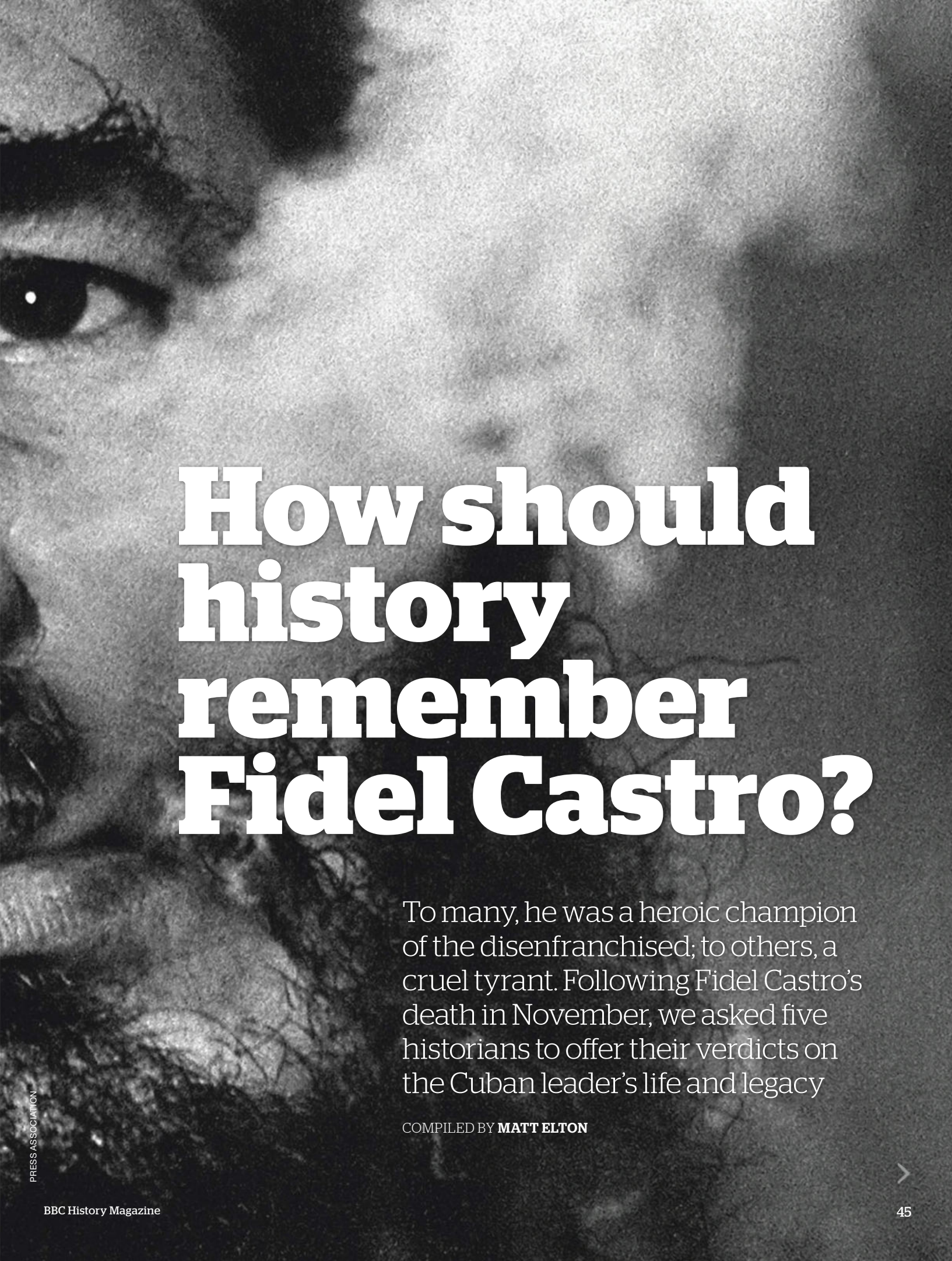
TELEVISION

► *Sicily with Michael Scott* is due to air on BBC Two early in 2017



British troops are welcomed by Sicilian children after driving German and Italian forces from the island





How should history remember Fidel Castro?

To many, he was a heroic champion of the disenfranchised; to others, a cruel tyrant. Following Fidel Castro's death in November, we asked five historians to offer their verdicts on the Cuban leader's life and legacy

COMPILED BY **MATT ELTON**

“He inspired everyone from Black Power activists to South African freedom fighters

SIMON HALL

Castro was a revolutionary who symbolised his age. In December 1956, he returned from exile in Mexico, determined to overthrow the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, Cuba's American-backed strongman. Arriving on 2 December aboard the *Granma*, Castro boldly predicted that “we will be free or we will be martyrs”.

It was a cry that resonated with the times: 1956 saw a historic victory for African-Americans in Montgomery, following a year-long boycott of the city's segregated buses, while, in South Africa, tens of thousands of women took to the streets of Pretoria to denounce apartheid.

The year also ushered in independence for Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and the Gold Coast – the first surrender of colonial power in sub-Saharan Africa – and witnessed a popular uprising against Stalinist rule in Hungary. In the decade that followed Castro's triumphant march into Havana, in January 1959, the Cuban Revolution proved an inspiration for Black Power activists, opponents of the war in Vietnam, South African freedom fighters, Latin American revolutionaries, and radical students in Britain, Europe and the United States.

Castro's death at the end of a year whose highlights (so far) include Brexit and the election of Donald Trump, is a reminder that, today, the forces of history appear to be marching to a very different beat.

Simon Hall is professor of modern history at the University of Leeds, and the author of *1956: The World in Revolt* (Faber and Faber, 2016)

“In 1980, more than 125,000 Cubans fled what had become a poverty-stricken Marxist hell-hole

ANDREW ROBERTS

History will remember Fidel Castro primarily for the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, during which he acted as the pawn of Nikita Khrushchev's Soviet Union, in what in

retrospect was a madcap scheme to station hostile nuclear weapons only 90 miles from the United States. He will be remembered for overthrowing a profoundly corrupt pro-American dictatorship under Fulgencio Batista, which he proceeded to replace with his own Marxist-Leninist, anti-American regime that soon came to rely on terror and detentions to survive.

The abortive Bay of Pigs operation undertaken by CIA-backed Cuban rebels in 1961 to try to overthrow Castro will be recalled as one of the lowest moments of the Kennedy administration. Castro's interminable five-hour-long speeches to the Central Committee of the Communist party will also be remembered (though obviously not their content). So will the way he attempted to destabilise various southern African countries in the 1960s and 1970s in an attempt to export revolution. And let's not forget that hijackers and terrorists of all ideologies yelled the phrase “Take me to Cuba!” since he offered unquestioning sanctuary for them there.

When in 1980 Castro allowed emigration from the port of Mariel, more than 125,000 people were so desperate to leave that they risked their lives in often unseaworthy vessels to escape a country that was by then a poverty-stricken Marxist hell-hole, albeit one with relatively high literacy rates and universal healthcare. With an average income of £15 per month, nothing to read that wasn't approved by the Communist party, some 8,600 people arrested and detained without proper trial in 2015/16, and no free elections for over half a century, history will conclude that Castro's death could not come quickly enough for his people.

Andrew Roberts is a historian and the author of books including *Elegy: The First Day on the Somme* (Head of Zeus, 2015)

“Simultaneously, he was an advocate for the world's poor, and a petty and compulsive tyrant

JULIE BUNCK

Fidel Castro's impact on the world was both profound and multidimensional. By 1970 he stood as a spokesman for the people of Latin America, the leader of the so-called Non-Aligned Movement, a liaison between revolutionary movements across the globe

and the Kremlin, a thorny nuisance for the US government, the symbolic coach of one of the world's most competitive and dazzling sports powers, and an articulate advocate in the United Nations for economic empowerment of the world's poor at the expense of the rich. Simultaneously, he ruled in Cuba as a petty, self-absorbed and compulsive tyrant, who responded brutally to Cubans on the island who dared to reject his socialist vision. He seized property, slammed shut the doors of the nation's religious institutions and drove hundreds of thousands from their home to other lands.

For nearly six decades he held tenaciously to a Marxist-Leninist vision that rejected the market, relied on citizens' distrust of one another to ensure conformity, restricted movement on the island and prohibited travel abroad, rewarded his obedient followers with moral and material rewards, and punished dissidents by denying them basic comforts.

A common thread running through his policies was the effort to develop a revolutionary ‘conciencia’ (conscience) among his people, to eradicate pre-revolutionary attitudes, and to mould a ‘new Cuban man’. Sadly, new attitudes, including those regarding the role of women, the centrality of manual labour, and a revolutionary education, generally failed to materialise and the revolutionary vision faded as the Cuban economy deteriorated and a hopelessness cast a shadow over the island.

Julie Bunck is professor of political science at the University of Louisville

“Castro's challenge to global capitalism was far more enduring than the Soviet Union's

TANYA HARMER

Fidel Castro changed the world, defying the logic of global power and geography. From a small island, 90 miles from Florida, the revolutionary regime he led posed a radical challenge to the United States, global capitalism and colonialism.

Remarkably, this challenge proved far more consistent and enduring than the Soviet Union's. In Africa, Castro's troops fought against colonialism and apartheid South Africa. In Latin America, the Cuban Revolution's example transformed politics and society, putting long-standing questions of land reform, education and healthcare



Castro receives the acclaim of supporters just before entering Havana during the Cuban Revolution, January 1959



A Cuban refugee in Miami watches President Kennedy addressing America during the Cuban missile crisis, October 1962



Cuban exiles congregate on the streets of Miami to celebrate Castro's death, 26 November 2016



US coast guards rescue Cuban refugees from their capsized raft in the Florida Straits, August 1994

“Castro seems to provide proof of the dictum: “Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely”

MARK WHITE

Fidel Castro will be remembered in strikingly different ways. To many Cubans he will be regarded as the father of the Cuban Revolution who, with courage and skill, defeated the efforts of its mighty American neighbour to overthrow him at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, survived several CIA assassination plots, and sustained the revolution for half a century. His supporters will also point to his success in enhancing the quality of life for Cubans by establishing free and universal education and medical care.

To many in the west, not least the many Cubans who fled their homeland for the United States after the revolution, he will be viewed largely as a corrupt, nefarious dictator who failed to introduce democracy in Cuba and to uphold basic human rights. His record on the economy was unimpressive too, especially once Soviet aid diminished at the end of the Cold War. The advent of the Cuban missile crisis, the most dangerous episode of the Cold War, would not have taken place had Castro not accepted Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's request to deploy missiles in Cuba. Most troublingly, at the height of the missile crisis, Castro urged Khrushchev to launch a nuclear strike on the United States if Kennedy authorised an invasion of Cuba.

Reflecting on the early days of the revolution, when many in Cuba and elsewhere hoped Castro would bring progressive, enlightened, democratic leadership to Cuba after the corrupt dictatorship of Batista, Castro seems to provide proof of Lord Acton's famous dictum: “Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.” **H**

Mark White is professor of history at Queen Mary University of London

DISCOVER MORE

SOCIAL MEDIA

► How do you think history should remember Fidel Castro? **Let us know via Twitter or Facebook:** twitter.com/historyextra
facebook.com/historyextra

MAGAZINE

► For more global history, check out issue 1 of **BBC World Histories** magazine, which is on sale now



firmly on the agenda. It also mobilised thousands to take up arms, believing they could emulate Castro's success.

By launching military invasions, violent counter-insurgency campaigns or reformist programmes designed to immunise the region from Cuba, those who feared Castro's example made him far more powerful than he might otherwise have been. Indifference was simply not an option.

However, history desperately needs to put Castro in context to understand his impact. For too long, the potent narrative of the heroic guerrilla (believed by admirers and enemies alike) that Castro so ably promoted

has obscured far more complex and long-term causes of the Cuban Revolution.

Castro was a man of his times, who channelled widespread desire for change. His revolution addressed pressing problems and provided an alternative to moderate reform efforts cut short by elites and CIA-backed military coups. As well as remembering him for changing the world, we need to remember the reasons his actions and ideas resonated as powerfully as they did.

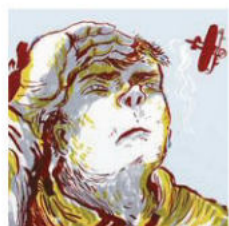
Tanya Harmer is associate professor in the department of international history at the London School of Economics and Political Science

OUR FIRST WORLD WAR

All change at the top

In part 32 of his personal testimony series, **Peter Hart** takes us back to January 1917, when there was a new government in power, a coalition led by David Lloyd George. Peter is tracing the experiences of 20 people who lived through the First World War – via interviews, letters and diary entries – as its centenary progresses

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JAMES ALBON



James McCudden

James qualified as a pilot in the Royal Flying Corps in 1916. He started flying DH2 scout planes with 29 Squadron on the western front that August, and shot down his first German aircraft in September. He became a 2nd Lieutenant at the end of 1916.

On 23 January, 2nd Lieutenant James McCudden was leading his patrol of DH2 planes south of Arras when he saw a German plane below him engaged in artillery observation work.

“I dived and opened fire, from 500 feet above, and from his right rear. Then I closed to 200 feet, and changed quickly from his right to his left rear. My drum was finished about 50 yards away at the most, and I saw my tracers pass across from his left to his right wing-tip. As I turned away to put on a new drum, I did not close on him again, because by the time I got a new drum of

ammunition on he was too far off east to re-engage.

I missed that Hun because I did not at that time possess that little extra determination that makes one get one's sight on a Hun and makes one's mind decide that one is going to get him or know the reason why, for that Hun was an absolute sitter. But still, in my case it was little incidents like this which proved useful lessons, for they caused me to be furious with myself and I said to myself that if I was going to be any good at shooting down Huns, which was my sole ambition, I would certainly make more of my opportunities in the future.

“I did not at that time possess that little extra determination that makes one get one's sight on a Hun”



Gabrielle 'Bobby' West

Gabrielle West, known as 'Bobby', was born the daughter of a vicar in 1890. In 1916 she trained as a policewoman and by January 1917 was working at a munitions factory close to the Welsh mining village of Pembrey in Carmarthenshire.

“The factory is built on the Burrows sandhills, the most desolate spot in this world. Where the most dangerous work is done the sheds are actually inside the hills. The hill is scooped out in the middle and is entered by this small tunnel through the mound. In this way the sheds are quite invisible from outside. This part of the factory doesn't look like a factory at all, more like a gigantic rabbit warren than anything else. In these very

dangerous sheds only five or six workers are allowed in at a time and if an extra person wants to go in, one of those inside must come out. These are the 'sieving sheds' where powder intended for making cordite and ballistite is put through a metal sieve.

The girls here are very rough – so are the conditions. The language is sometimes too terrible. But they are also very impressionable: quite friendly one minute, shrieking with rage and almost ready to tear one to pieces the next.

The previous team of police-women had made themselves thoroughly unpopular with the munitions workers who rejoiced in abusing them.

“One of our duties is to get girls out of their dining halls and back to their sheds at the proper times. When Buckie and I and the three constables first attempted this they hooted and booed at us and, when we tried to insist, they all went on strike and announced that they would down the first constable who came near them. Buckie and I marched boldly amongst





A munitions factory in January 1917. Conditions for the female workers were unhealthy and dangerous

them, much to their amazement, and commenced to hold forth, 'telling them all about it!' One or two cried out to the others: "Shut up! They've got a bit of pluck!" After one and a half hours of argument and entreaty they went back. They have never been so naughty since!

The female munition workers may well have had reason for their febrile mood.

“The ether in the cordite affects some of the girls. It gives them headaches, hysteria and sometimes makes them unconscious. There are about 15 or 20 girls who sometimes get these epileptic fits, and on a heavy windless night as many as 30 girls will be overcome by the fumes. Mary Morgan gets the most appalling fits. She goes dead and stupid for a minute, then very red in the face and then starts the most violent struggles, pulling at her hair, scratching her face and twisting herself into the most fearful contortions. It takes four or five to hold her down and prevent her from harming herself. The favourite 'cures' among the girls

are to souse the sufferer with cold water; thump and slap her; shake her; pour hot tea between her teeth – although being unconscious she can't swallow; stand her on her head – when she is purple in the face already; and last but not least sit on her 'stummick'. This girl told me she was so glad the policewomen looked after her and kept the other girls away, as last time she was that bruised in her insides that it made her sick for a week.

Gradually the police won the confidence of most of the 3,900 women. West began to understand a little more about the munitionettes.

“They are so full of life and cheerful and there are a great many different types. Some are girls from lonely little sheep farms in the mountains, these speak only Welsh or a very little broken English and are very good sorts, though rough. Then there are the wives of the miners, from the Rhondda valley and other coal pits near. They are very full of socialistic theories and are perpetually getting up strikes.



Sir Douglas Haig

Haig had served in the army for some 30 years when, in December 1915, he was appointed to command British forces on the western front. He had been in overall command on the first day of the Somme, 1 July 1916.

Since December 1916, Haig had a new British prime minister to contend with. Asquith's government had been replaced by a coalition led by David Lloyd George. Haig welcomed Lloyd George's potential to increase the efficiency of the war effort on the home front, but was wary of interference. Lloyd George was critical of the British conduct of battles on the western front, and expressed an admiration for the methods espoused by the new French commander-in-chief, General Robert Nivelle. Lloyd George supported 'easterner' campaigns, such as Salonika and Palestine, which Douglas Haig regarded as a distraction from the battle against Germany. On 15 January the two men had a meeting that did not go well.

“The PM proceeded to compare the successes of the French the last summer with what the British had achieved. His conclusion was that the French army was better all round, and able to gain success at less cost in life. I listened politely for some time, then told him briefly a few of my experiences with the French in the field during the past 2½ years. General opinion amongst the British Army is that the French infantry lacks discipline and thoroughness. On a number of occasions, *we know* they did not attack though *ordered* to do so.



Harold Bing

Born in Croydon in 1897, Harold was a conscientious objector. Released from a three-month prison stretch in Wormwood Scrubs in December 1916, in January 1917 he was re-arrested and given a further sentence.

Bing served his second term of imprisonment at Winchester Prison. It had a bad reputation in 1916, but things had improved a little.

“The warders had become more accustomed to conscientious objectors and most treated us quite reasonably. There were one or two who were still very bitter, very harsh, very abusive, and others who, in the course of time, became almost sympathetic. I never experienced any physical ill-treatment, but I did see another prisoner being physically maltreated. Possibly it was a provocative attitude because when there is violence, very often there is some occasion for it on both sides. I saw a couple of warders drag him down several iron staircases feet first, with his head banging on each iron step as he came down. **H**

Peter Hart is the oral historian at the Imperial War Museum

DISCOVER MORE

WEBSITE

► Read previous instalments of “**Our First World War**” at historyextra.com/ourfirstworldwar

TV AND RADIO

► The BBC's **First World War coverage** is continuing – please check the TV & Radio updates on historyextra.com



COVER STORY

MARGARET BEAUFORT **MOTHER OF THE TUDORS**

She was pregnant at 12, widowed by the Wars of the Roses and almost died at the hands of Richard III. But, writes **Michael Jones**, nothing could prevent the indomitable Margaret Beaufort from engineering the rise of her son, Henry VII, to the English throne



Margaret Beaufort, shown in a c16th-century oil on panel painting, was the arch opportunist, switching allegiance in the Wars of the Roses in a bid to advance her family's cause

On 14 February 1453, a nine-year-old girl was travelling to London to be introduced to the court of King Henry VI. Her name was Margaret Beaufort, the only child of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and inheritor of a large landed estate.

Margaret (born on 31 May 1443) had royal blood in her veins. But it was tainted blood, for her family was the illegitimate offspring of the king's great-grandfather, John of Gaunt, by his mistress, Katherine Swynford. When Gaunt subsequently married Katherine, the Beauforts were legitimised – but barred from succeeding to the throne. As Margaret approached the royal court that day in 1453, her family harboured hopes that that Henry VI would overturn this provision.

Margaret's father had died shortly before her first birthday and so she was brought up by her mother, Margaret Beauchamp. Her mother instilled in her a strong sense of personal destiny and family pride. Despite her young age, Margaret was bright and remarkably self-assured. Above all, she was well aware of the opportunities beckoning her.

That she would go on to take full advantage of these opportunities is beyond doubt. For, in the face of huge obstacles and sometimes mortal peril, Margaret played the 15th-century game of power-politics with bravery and determination. And, on 22 August 1485, her perseverance was rewarded when her son, Henry Tudor, defeated Richard III at the battle of Bosworth to become king. Charting Margaret's role in Henry's rise to power – and the establishment of the Tudor dynasty – reveals the skill-set of one of the great political survivors of the late Middle Ages.

In line for the crown

As the young Margaret travelled towards the royal court in February 1453, she found herself at the centre of a high-stakes tug-of-war. Three years earlier, Henry VI's chief minister, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, had arranged her marriage to his son John. The dynastic implications of this planned alliance would not have been lost on Margaret for King Henry, married for eight years, as yet had no heir. The House of Commons had nervously claimed that Suffolk was steering his son towards the throne through the rights of his prospective wife, whom he "presumed and pretended to be next in line to the crown".

Fresh stories were eddying around the court: Henry VI intended to annul Margaret's match with Suffolk and instead marry her to his half-brother, Edmund Tudor. Young Margaret's importance in such schemes was clear. But contemporaries imagined her role



An effigy of John de la Pole, who Margaret rejected as a future husband

Margaret played the 15th-century game of power-politics with bravery, determination and no little skill

would be passive: by the standards of the time, she was merely a commodity in the medieval marriage market.

Few at Henry's court were in much doubt as to what would happen next. Margaret would meet her two suitors – John de la Pole and Edmund Tudor – and accede to the king's wish. But Margaret had other ideas. The young girl solemnly told the astonished gathering that, as the matter was of such gravity, she should be allowed more time to decide.

Margaret's spiritual adviser John Fisher tells us what happened next: "Being then little more than nine years old, and doubtful in her mind what she were best to do, she asked counsel of an old gentlewoman, whom she much loved and trusted, who did advise her to commend herself to St Nicholas, the patron and helper of all true maidens, and to beseech him to put in her thoughts the right course to take. This counsel she followed, and made her prayer full often, and especially that night, knowing that in the morning she would be required to give her answer. And as she lay in prayer, calling upon the saint – whether asleep or awake she could not remember – about four o'clock in the morning a figure appeared before her, dressed in white, rather like a bishop, and naming Edmund, bade her take him as her husband."

Margaret duly did – but not before she had made the entire Lancastrian court await her decision.

Margaret's experience of marriage was harsh. She conceived Edmund Tudor's child at the age of 12, and lost her husband to plague before the baby was born. The young widow was forced to seek the protection of Edmund's brother Jasper, giving birth to a son, Henry Tudor, on 28 January 1457 at Pembroke Castle in west Wales. The recollections of John Fisher reveal that the birth was a very painful one, because of her small build and young age, and Margaret, now 13, was almost certainly physically damaged by it. She would never bear another child.

Jasper Tudor, with the young mother and child under his protection, took charge of proceedings. According to the Welsh chronicler Elis Gruffydd, Jasper named the boy Owen, in memory of his own father. But Margaret, now well enough to attend the baptism, commanded the bishop to halt the service, begin again, and give her son the name of Henry. She spoke with such assurance that the entire assembly meekly followed her wishes.

Striking a bargain

Margaret Beaufort did not wait upon events. No sooner had the 'churching' – the 40 days of ritual purification after the birth of a child – been completed, she was already making moves to avoid another husband being forced upon her. In March 1457, she entered into an agreement to marry the Duke of Buckingham's second son, Sir Henry Stafford. Jasper Tudor and his retinue accompanied her to the duke's manor of Greenfield, near Newport, but it was the 13-year-old Margaret who struck a bargain with one of the most powerful aristocrats in the country.

Yet the wheel of fortune was to turn against her once more. For much of Margaret's early life, England was ravaged by the Wars of the Roses, a bloody conflict that pitted the Lancastrian king Henry VI against his enemies, now led by Edward, Duke of York.

In March 1461, Edward seized the crown (as Edward IV), and crushed Henry's army at the battle of Towton. One of Edward's first moves as monarch was to grant the wardship of Henry Tudor to one of his closest supporters, William Lord Herbert. Margaret and her son were separated, and Henry brought up at Herbert's stronghold at Raglan Castle. Margaret refused to be discouraged, however, keeping in touch with her son through a stream of messages and occasional visits.

The handsome and charming Edward IV won a brief reconciliation with Margaret's cousin, Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, through sheer charisma. It surprised many.

The five lives of Margaret Beaufort

From bitter inheritance to England's most powerful woman

1 The infant heiress

Margaret was brought up by her mother with a strong sense of her Beaufort lineage, and the family's closeness to the ruling House of Lancaster. The Beauforts' illegitimate origins – and the stigma of her father John Beaufort's disgrace and suicide after an unsuccessful military

campaign in France – demonstrated the mutability of human fortunes. (John Fisher remembered Margaret's tears at her son's coronation, motivated by the fear that their fortunes might change once more). It also fuelled a determination to redeem her family's reputation.



Margaret Beaufort's personal coat of arms



Amanda Hale plays Margaret in the TV series *The White Queen*

2 The child bride

A young and wealthy heiress in the medieval marriage market was normally a pawn in the game of powerful men – but Margaret sought to take command of the situation, claiming the decisions to marry first Edmund Tudor and then Henry Stafford as her own. She was not entirely successful (she cannot have

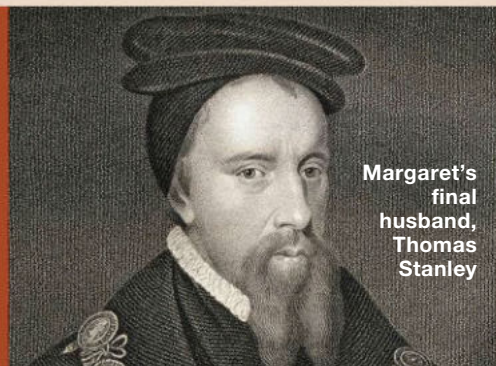
anticipated that the 24-year-old Tudor would consummate their union when she was still only 12, a decision shocking by modern standards and unseemly by medieval ones), but it gives us a powerful insight into the way she made sense of the world.

3 The canny networker

Margaret Beaufort revered Henry VI, and in her son's reign attempted to get the hapless king made a saint, but to her credit she was prepared to work with Edward IV. Her marriage to Thomas Stanley, steward of the royal household, gave her a permanent place at the Yorkist court in the second half of Edward's reign.

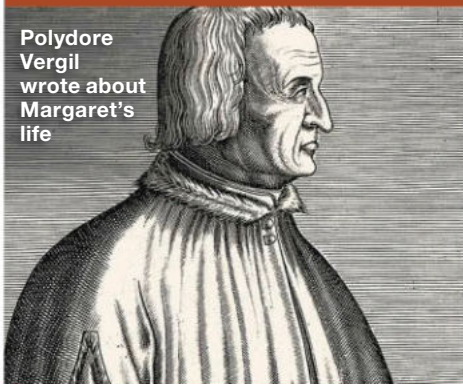
John Fisher praised Margaret's acces-

sibility – “She was of singular easiness to be spoken unto, and full courteous answer she would make to all that came to her” – and her interest in court protocol began at this time. And the agreement of June 1482, by which Edward IV allowed the restoration of Henry Tudor to lands and titles and a marriage to one of his daughters, was a remarkable triumph.



Margaret's final husband, Thomas Stanley

Polydore Vergil wrote about Margaret's life



4 The rebels' ringleader

The Tudor historian Polydore Vergil gives a striking portrait of Margaret's role in the rebellion against Richard III in the autumn of 1483. Vergil related how Margaret sent her physician, Lewis Caerleon, into the sanctuary at Westminster Abbey, to plot with Elizabeth Woodville. She also opened discussions with the Duke of Buckingham

through John Morton and her trusted servant Reginald Bray. Meanwhile, money was also sent to Henry Tudor in Brittany.

Margaret's role may have been a little less all-encompassing than Vergil claimed, but the broad tenor of his account is confirmed by Richard III's own act of parliament against her.

5 The king's mother

During the reign of her son, Henry VII, Margaret held an unparalleled position of power. She was able to attend to works of religious patronage and the great educational foundations, at Christ's and St John's Colleges in Cambridge (the coat of arms pictured above is sited at St John's). In the last decade of Henry's rule,

Margaret ran a court of equity from her palace of Collyweston (in Northamptonshire) and governed the Midlands on the king's behalf. She outlived her son, falling ill at the coronation banquet of her grandson, Henry VIII. She died on 29 June 1509 – with the new Tudor dynasty firmly founded.



Henry VII entrusted the rule of the Midlands to his mother



A c1477 vellum shows Edward IV with, among others, his wife Elizabeth Woodville, his son Edward and his brother Richard. Edward's death in 1483 triggered a period of chaos and bloodletting that culminated in Margaret Beaufort's son Henry seizing the throne

"The king made full much of him," Gregory's Chronicle reported indignantly, as the two former enemies went hunting together, and in a signal mark of favour, shared the royal bed. But when Somerset betrayed Edward's trust and joined other Lancastrian exiles in Scotland in the spring of 1464, the king was furious, pursuing a vendetta against the whole family. It was now that Margaret's skills as a diplomat came to the fore. She managed to rebuild bridges with the Yorkist king – employing her husband's connections – and in December 1468 the two of them entertained King Edward at their hunting lodge of Brookwood, near Woking.

She was also an opportunist. When her son's guardian, Lord Herbert, was killed in the aftermath of the battle of Edgcote on 26 July 1469, she bemoaned the horror befalling those caught up "in fierce and terrible warfare" – and then promptly began

a search of the legal records, in an attempt to overturn Henry Tudor's grant of wardship.

She wouldn't have to wait long to gain access to her son again, for in the autumn of 1470 a rebellion – led by George, Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, 'the Kingmaker' – forced Edward IV into exile and saw Henry reinstated on the throne. On 27 October 1470, mother and son paid a visit to the returned Lancastrian king, during which Henry reportedly made a prophecy that Margaret's son "would heal the divisions of war" and reunite the nation.

The tables turn

But Margaret did not let sentiment cloud cold, political calculation. In March 1471, all was once again on a knife-edge as Edward IV returned from exile with a fresh army. At the end of the month, her cousins arrived at her manor of Woking, in an effort to enlist

her support for King Henry. But Margaret and Stafford decided that the Lancastrian forces simply weren't strong enough to prevail – and, as the Beauforts rode towards the West Country, Stafford and his retainers headed off in the opposite direction, to join Edward's army.

Victories at Barnet and Tewkesbury, on 14 April and 4 May 1471, re-established Edward IV on the throne. Margaret's decision to throw her lot in with him was vindicated but her prudence came at a cost. In the aftermath of Tewkesbury, Henry VI was almost certainly murdered on Edward's orders, Margaret's remaining male Beaufort cousins were killed, and her husband Henry Stafford died of battle wounds. Meanwhile her son Henry, in Wales with the Lancastrian forces of his uncle, Jasper Tudor, fled into exile in Brittany. Margaret did not know if she would see him again.

After the uprising, Margaret was only spared execution because of her husband's loyalty to Richard III

In May 1472 she drew up her will, instructing her trustees to preserve an estate "should Henry ever return to England and be restored to favour". Sadly, this prospect seemed far distant.

Most aristocratic women may now have retired from political life altogether and joined a religious community. But Margaret's resilience was extraordinary. In June 1472 she once more negotiated a marriage alliance, this time with Thomas Lord Stanley, the steward of Edward IV's household. The Stanleys were great landowners in Lancashire, Cheshire and north Wales, and the match gave Margaret an influential position at the Yorkist court. By the summer of 1482 she was at last able to broker an agreement with Edward IV for her son to return to England, secure a landed estate and a marriage to one of Edward's daughters. But the king died, on 9 April 1483, before it could be put into effect.

King Edward's son and heir was now recognised as Edward V, and first a governing council and then a protectorate, under Edward IV's younger brother Richard, Duke

of Gloucester, was set up to rule the country until he came of age. But the protectorate itself abruptly ended when Richard dramatically announced that his brother's marriage to his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, was invalid and the couple's two sons illegitimate. Gloucester now claimed the throne himself, being crowned Richard III on 6 July 1483.

Richard's seizure of the throne was bloody and confused. The new king ordered Edward IV's sons, Edward and Richard, to be confined to the Tower, had Edward's chamberlain, William, Lord Hastings, executed for treason, and forced Elizabeth Woodville to withdraw into sanctuary at Westminster Abbey with her daughters.

And what of Margaret Beaufort? Ever the pragmatist, she initially sought an accommodation with Richard in order to safeguard the arrangements for Henry Tudor's return drawn up a year earlier. She and her husband even played a prominent role in Richard's coronation.

Hatching a plot

But it wasn't long before the relationship between king and countess turned sour. Alarmed by the fate of the princes in the Tower, Margaret changed tack, organising a rebellion in which a rising by the Duke of Buckingham and the Woodvilles would be supported by an invasion force led by Jasper and Henry Tudor from Brittany. Margaret "was commonly called the head of that conspiracy", the historian Polydore Vergil remarked.

All the while, an extraordinary prospect was opening up: of a marriage alliance between Henry and Edward IV's oldest daughter, Elizabeth of York, by which Tudor could himself claim the throne. However, the rising collapsed – and Margaret, deprived of all lands and servants by an act of parliament, was only spared execution because of her husband's continued loyalty to Richard III. When Henry Parker, Lord Morley, wrote "In King Richard's days, she was oft in jeopardy of her life," he certainly wasn't exaggerating.

But, in the summer of 1485, Margaret's luck was to change again. Henry recruited a new invasion army, landed in Wales, and on 22 August – with Stanley's support – defeated and killed Richard III at Bosworth Field. The man who Margaret described in her letters as "my dearest and only beloved joy in the world", was now king of England. And, as he himself acknowledged, he owed much to his mother. Her seemingly endless reserves of resolve and practicality had forged a most surprising medieval success story. Margaret Beaufort was truly one of history's great survivors. **II**

Did Margaret have the princes in the Tower murdered?

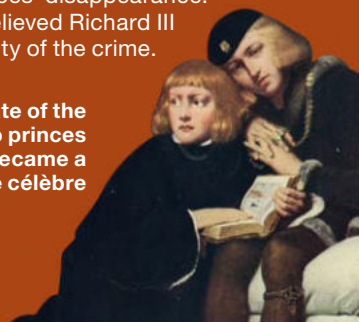
The disappearance of the two sons of Edward IV, the princes in the Tower, is one of our enduring royal mysteries. The majority of contemporaries believed that they had been killed sometime around August 1483 and Richard III, and also the Duke of Buckingham, were seen as the most likely culprits.

In the early 17th century researchers William Cornwallis and Sir George Buck first suggested that Margaret Beaufort might have killed the the princes, in order to further Henry Tudor's chances of taking the throne. Such a possibility cannot be ruled out, and has recently been revived in Philippa Gregory's historical novel *The Red Queen*, and the BBC's 2013 dramatisation of Philippa's *Wars of the Roses* books. It represents the darkest and most terrifying fruit of her remorseless ambition for her son.

While a motive for Lady Margaret existed – albeit a profoundly disturbing one – hard evidence for her involvement in such a scheme is scant indeed. Buck claimed to have found proof in "an old manuscript book", but as he never cited its provenance or quoted from it, its existence remains a mystery.

No contemporary chronicler or source blamed Margaret for the princes' disappearance. Most believed Richard III was guilty of the crime.

The fate of the two princes became a cause célèbre



Raglan Castle, where Henry Tudor was raised – away from his mother

Michael Jones is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society. He co-authored, with Philippa Langley, *The King's Grave: The Search for Richard III* (John Murray, 2014)

DISCOVER MORE

BBCSTORE

► To download **The Real White Queen and Her Rivals** – in which author Philippa Gregory tells the story of the women at the heart of the Wars of the Roses, including Margaret Beaufort – go to store.bbc.com/the-real-white-queen-and-her-rivals

BECOME A LOCAL HISTORIAN

With a growing number of physical and online resources, there have never been more ways to discover your area's past. **Jane Williamson** offers some tips to get you started

Visit the archives

Whether you're tracking down a notable local dynasty or your village's medieval past, national, county and city archives are an excellent way to access local history resources.

A starting point for births, deaths and marriages, your local records office is also where you can discuss your search with archivists and see historical documents first-hand. Archive records range from parish registers, and documents on businesses, estates and families, to maps, illustrations and photographs.

For those digging deeper, the

user-friendly website of the National Archives at nationalarchives.gov.uk is invaluable. Records range from Domesday Book to war diaries, country court death duty registers and Victorian prisoner photographs. Some items are available to download or you can request copies of others (costs may apply). The National Archives also runs events and online seminars and has several online guides to help your quest. The archive is also searchable by area to help connect you with resources such as museums and libraries in your region.

Get hands-on with history

Local history groups often arrange visits to significant local buildings and sites, but if you want to get really hands-on, the annual Festival of Archaeology (archaeologyfestival.org.uk/whatson) has dozens of historical walks and digs. If you want to enthuse others about your community's past, consider becoming a volunteer guide at a National Trust or English Heritage site or volunteering at your nearest small museum.



Get to know your home

Your own home can provide an intriguing insight into the people who lived and worked there in the past. Start from clues such as date stones and architectural styles, and the deeds and Land Registry details (gov.uk/search-property-information-land-registry). Local record offices hold plans, maps, newspapers and electoral records dating back centuries. Census records are a treasure trove of information. Historic England has a useful potted guide at historicengland.org.uk/advice/your-home



Discover your family history

Unearthing your past has never been more achievable, with a plethora of genealogy websites, including ancestry.co.uk, thegenealogist.co.uk and findmypast.co.uk, offering births, marriages, deaths, census records and more. There are costs to fully access their records but free trials are often available.

However, do remember to look closer to home. "It may seem obvious, but the first thing you should do is talk to your family," says Sarah Williams, editor of *Who Do You Think You Are? Magazine*, published by Immediate Media Co,

who also produce *BBC History Magazine*. "This will save you time and money, and you may even find a research buddy. Be methodical and check each piece of information before you move further back. The internet has transformed family history research, but it's also made it easy to proliferate mistakes that will lead you to researching the wrong family. Be a detective and look at all the supporting evidence."

If you do run into a dead end, *WDYT YA Magazine*, together with its website and forum, is a great place to find help: whodoyouthinkyouaremagazine.com

Do your studies

If you want to pursue your passion to an academic level, several institutions offer residential and non-residential history courses for adult learners. More informally, the University of the Third Age (u3a.org.uk), now with more than 1,000 branches, holds regular meetings to explore local and family history. The Historical Association too has nearly 50 branches, each running a programme of history lecture events (see history.org.uk/historian/categories/locate-your-branch). The British Association for Local History (balh.org.uk) offers conferences where you can meet other local history experts.

Connect with like-minded people

"Joining a local history group is a great way of meeting people with similar interests to you," says Paula Kitching of the Historical Association. There are hundreds of local history groups and societies in the UK, including the association's own, and a quick check online should turn up your nearest one. If not, local-history.co.uk is a good source of information.

Informal and relaxed, local history groups tend to focus on subjects from archaeology to family history and notable events, usually with a local historical bias. Some groups have even built up their own document archives

that could boost your search.

"Most branches have regular talks and activities, often offering practical skills for exploring local subjects," says Kitching. "Members – if they can't help you directly – will usually know of other people doing similar research or will help you develop your research skills. Talks and activities at local branches can be on any number of historical themes, all of which will help someone to understand wider interpretations of history and different ways of approaching their subject." **H**

Jane Williamson is a freelance writer

Become an **examiner** with Cambridge

Cambridge International Examinations is growing and over 10000 schools in more than 160 countries are now part of our Cambridge learning community. We are inviting teachers to develop their professional experience by becoming examiners for **History**.

To support our continued growth worldwide, we are expanding and strengthening our examiner network, and inviting teachers to develop their professional experience by becoming Cambridge examiners.

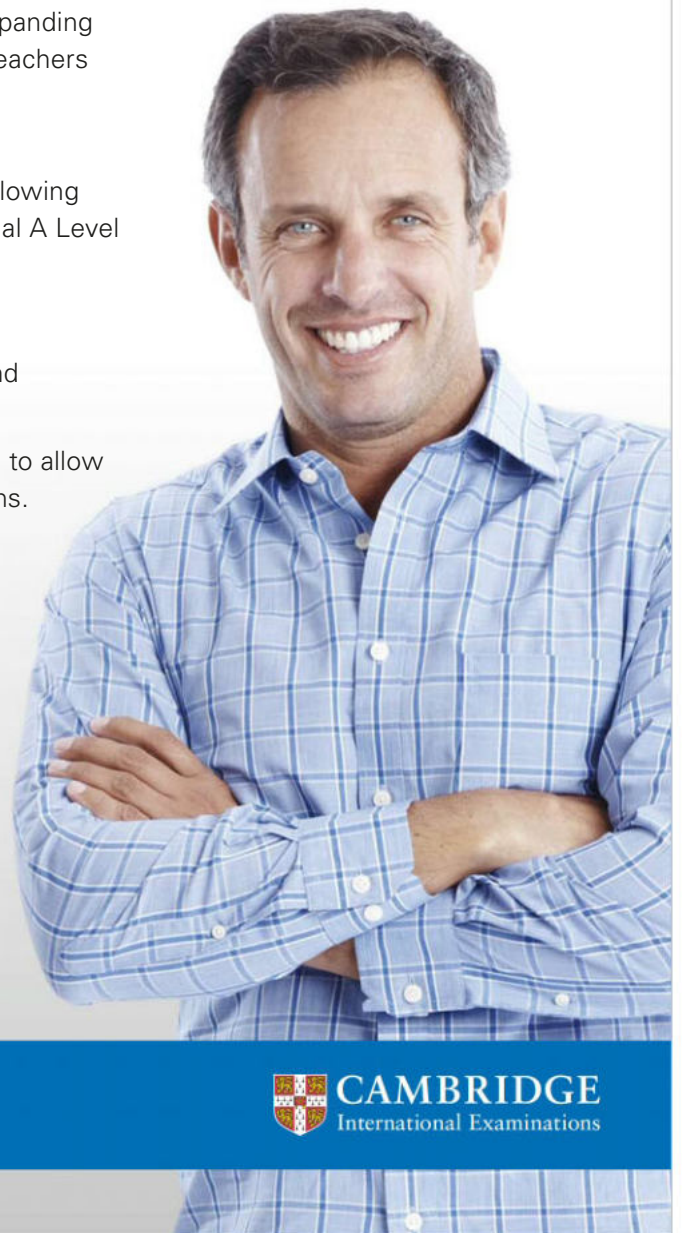
We are welcoming new examiners in History for the following qualifications Cambridge IGCSE, Cambridge International A Level and Cambridge Pre-U History.

Requirements are:

- applicants should have history teaching experience and be educated to degree level in a related subject
- successful applicants will require a PC and broadband to allow them to access Cambridge on-screen marking systems.

We offer:

- a powerful insight into the teaching and assessment of Cambridge qualifications
- support in developing your own professional practice
- the highest standards of training and support
- freelance opportunities, based on contracts for services for each examination series, which fit around your existing commitments.



To apply to be an examiner, visit
www.cie.org.uk/makeyourmark

 **CAMBRIDGE**
International Examinations

UNIVERSITY OF
EXETER

**LOVE HISTORY?
LOVE LEARNING**

**UNIVERSITY OF EXETER
ONLINE SHORT COURSES**

MEET THE PEOPLE

Vikings, Tudors, Stuarts, Victorians

STEP BACK IN TIME

Prehistoric Britain, Ancient Egypt, Roman Empire

UNLOCK THE PAST

Dickensian London, Austen's world, the jazz age



Continuing Education, University of Exeter

Register now www.exeter.ac.uk/continuingeducation/history

**Manchester Metropolitan
University**



MA History

with a specialist pathway available in:

- **MA Public History and Heritage**

Past, Present, Your Future

Distance learning available for part-time study.

Visit our Postgraduate Fair on Wednesday 22 February.

Find out more: mmu.ac.uk/hpp/postgrad

Or e-mail: postgradhistory@mmu.ac.uk





Prifysgol Cymru
Y Drindod Dewi Sant
University of Wales
Trinity Saint David

Llambled ^{est} 1822
Lampeter

Medieval Studies at UWTSD Lampeter

Study the Medieval World, from Arthurian Legend and the Norman Invasion to the Tudors.

- Learn from leading researchers in Medieval Studies.
- Work with medieval manuscripts from the first year of study.

96%

of UWTSD students studying
Archaeology, History or
Anthropology were satisfied with
'Expert Lecturers'

*Global ISBSB,
Autumn Wave 2015*



Visit us and find out more at our next Open Day: 28 January 2017
Book online: www.uwtسد.ac.uk/visitus

Online lifelong learning for genealogists



**Learn new skills, experience something different and
earn a genealogy qualification**

Join us for beginner to intermediate courses on topics such as genetic genealogy, a beginner's guide to research & using the internet for family history research.

- Constructive feedback provided by assigned tutors.
- 8-week online courses begin in October, January & April.

Online Postgraduate Programme in Genealogical, Palaeographic and Heraldic Studies

- Study part time or full time at home or work.
- A previous degree is not required for entry.
- Developed by and for professional genealogists.
- Gain a postgraduate Certificate, Diploma or MSc.

For more information, see:

www.strath.ac.uk/genealogy/ or call 0141 548 2116.

The University of Strathclyde is a charitable body, registered in Scotland, number SC015263



Study History in the best History department in Wales and top ten in the UK in NSS 2016

- Wales' oldest History department, founded in the 1870s
- Small group teaching of no more than 15-20 per group
- Learn directly from the experts with research-led teaching
- World-class resources: one of the UK's 5 copyright libraries
- Friendly and supportive environment in a beautiful seaside location

Apply now to mark GCSE and A-level History

There are lots of benefits to marking, from building your expertise and knowledge of the new specifications, through to inspiring your teaching.

- enhance your teaching skills and knowledge of assessment
- strengthen your knowledge of specifications
- earn extra income ahead of the holiday period
- work flexibly from home, during hours that suit you.



Apply now to mark
GCSEs and A-levels



aqa.org.uk/apply

AQA
Realising potential

Passionate about history?



Discover more with Historical
Association membership

HA
Historical Association
The voice for history

- **Enjoy** over 300 history talks and visits every year through our branch network
- **Learn** through an online library of over 400 history podcasts, pamphlets, articles and publications
- **Explore** *The Historian* magazine – offering in-depth, accessible and enjoyable articles
- **Plus** members' magazine *HA News* and e-newsletters packed with news, competitions and more

Membership from £37
plus 2 months free

Join today
0300 100 0223

Quote: BH17

history.org.uk/go/mem



MA in English Local History and Family History

The Centre for English Local History at the University of Leicester was founded by W.G. Hoskins and will shortly be celebrating the 50th anniversary of its MA in English Local History and Family History.

Study with us and you will explore a variety of modules such as:

- Medieval Landscapes
- The Local Identities and Palaeography of Early Modern England, 1500-1700
- Family History
- Understanding English and Welsh Communities and Cultures, 1750-2000

The degree also involves a dissertation and an outdoor field course. **Funding opportunities are available.**

Join us to develop your knowledge and interests further. For more information, please visit our website or contact Dr Andrew Hopper ajh69@le.ac.uk

www.le.ac.uk/local-history-ma



HISTORY & ART HISTORY WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

www.plymouth.ac.uk/courses/undergraduate/ba-history
admissions@plymouth.ac.uk
+44 1752 585858
@PlymUniApply
@HistoryPlymouth



Undergraduate History Courses for 2017-18:

BA (Hons) History (with minor pathways in English, Politics and International Relations), BA (Hons) Art History, BA (Hons) International History

Exciting modules in British, European, US and World History include:

Regimes and Dictators; History and Heritage; Tudors and Stuarts; Early Modern Europe; Pirates and Piracy; Victorians; Twentieth Century Britain; Modern Japan; Colonial India; Ireland from 1914; Civil Rights; US Popular Culture.

We also offer Study Abroad opportunities in the US and Europe.

Open Days: 29 April & 28 June 2017.

Book a visit: www.plymouth.ac.uk/study/open-days

DEPARTMENT FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION



Short Online Courses in History Enrol for 2017

- Age of Revolution
- Europe of the Dictators
- Henry VIII
- The Wars of the Roses
- Britain and its Empire
- Civil War and Revolution
- The First World War in Perspective



conted.ox.ac.uk/historyjan17



Master's in the History of Sport c. 1800-2000

Based in London, this groundbreaking Master's programme offers students unique access to world-class scholars, thinkers and practitioners drawn from the world of sport and its academic study. It is directed by **Ed Smith**, the distinguished commentator, historian of sport, and former cricketer for England, Middlesex & Kent.

The course enables the student to undertake research on a specific topic, agreed with the supervisor, in any aspect of the history of sport over the last two centuries. Assessment is by a dissertation, written under expert guidance over the course of the year.

A central feature of the programme is its series of thirteen evening seminars and post-seminar dinners in a London club.

For further details contact: Ms Claire Prendergast on 01280 820204
E: claire.prendergast@buckingham.ac.uk
www.buckingham.ac.uk/humanities/ma/historyofsport

Previous speakers have included:

- **Mike Brearley OBE**, *former Captain of the England Cricket Team*
- **Mervyn King, Lord King of Lothbury KG, GBE, FBA**, *former Governor of the Bank of England*
- **Sir Clive Woodward OBE**, *Winning Rugby World Cup Coach*
- **Professor Christopher Young**, *historian of sport, University of Cambridge*



THE UNIVERSITY OF
BUCKINGHAM

LONDON PROGRAMMES



Pearson

Enhance your teaching Career today

Pearson have exciting opportunities for **History Teachers** to become **Examiners** for our **GCSE** and **GCE A Level** qualifications. This is a great way to get closer to the subject you love, whilst gaining an insight into assessment.

To find out further information, please visit
www.edexcel.com/aa-recruitment

Image by Angela Ithyle

When Britons were **slaves** in Africa

Between the 16th and 18th centuries, pirates operating out of north Africa enslaved thousands of men, women and children from the British Isles. **Adam Nichols** describes the often faltering attempts to release the captives from a life of hard labour and torture

The famous lines from the song 'Rule Britannia' proudly proclaim that "Britannia rules the waves. Britons never, never, never shall be slaves." Dating from the 1740s, 'Rule Britannia' expressed Britons' pride in the Royal Navy and its role in cementing Britain's position as an imperial superpower.

Unfortunately, for the preceding 250 years, the reality wasn't quite as triumphant as the

rousing words of the great anthem suggest. Between the beginning of the 16th century and the end of the 18th, thousands of Britons *were* slaves, seized by Barbary corsairs, those infamous privateers and pirates that operated out of north Africa. These men, women and children endured miserable conditions – invariably with little prospect of ever seeing their homes again. The Royal Navy's inability to protect British citizens

indicates its weakness at the time.

The Barbary corsair enterprise, which included not only taking European ships, goods and captives at sea but also raiding coastal settlements, was far larger than many people imagine. Estimates are that, across three centuries, corsairs operating out of Barbary coast ports (in north Africa) captured and enslaved more than a million Europeans. It is difficult to evaluate the cost of the goods they stole and destroyed, but it was enormous. We also know that a significant proportion of those taken





Hunters become prey

A Spanish naval force engages Barbary corsairs, in a contemporary Flemish painting. More than a million Europeans were seized during the north African pirates' reign of terror

GETTY

Barbary corsairs



captive – and of the treasure seized was British.

Using oared galleys, Barbary corsairs methodically pillaged the Mediterranean throughout the 16th century, occasionally attacking English ships operating in the area. But it wasn't until the early decades of the 17th century – when, with the help of Dutch and British renegades, the corsairs learned to sail and navigate square-rigged ships – that the corsairs focused their attacks on the people of northern Europe. Armed with their new technology and maritime know-how, the corsairs burst out of the Mediterranean and began raiding the British Isles coast – often led by the British renegades.

By the 1620s and 1630s, fleets of corsairs were taking local fishermen from their boats and attacking the coasts of Devon and Cornwall. In 1631 – in arguably their most infamous raid – they sacked the Irish town of Baltimore and abducted more than 100 men, women and children.

Grim prospects

For those unlucky enough to be captured by the corsairs, the prospects were grim. The best they could hope for was to be purchased by a private buyer and end up, essentially, as a domestic servant. Few were that fortunate. Young women were mostly bought for harems and disappeared forever. Men were frequently bought by the state, in which case their lot was most likely hard labour and ill treatment.

A document presented to parliament, 'The Case of Many Hundreds of Poor English Captives in Algiers together with Some Remedies to Prevent their Increase', describes the prisoners' lot. They "suffer and undergo most miserable slavery" and are "put to daily extreme and difficult labour, but a small supply of bread and water for their food, stripped of their clothes and covering, and their lodging on the cold stones and bricks; but what is more, their extreme hard and savage usage, laden sometimes with great burdens of chains, and shut up in noisome places, commonly adding



The high cost of freedom

Ransoms were way beyond the means of most captives

£8-10

The annual sum earned by a farm labourer in 17th-century Britain. A skilled craftsman could expect to take home between £12 and £20

£30-40

The cost of a captive sold at a slave auction by Barbary pirates

£80-300

The ransom typically demanded by Barbary corsairs for individual captives. Even the lowest ransoms represented two and a half years' wages for a skilled London craftsman



A sculpture depicts two Mercedarian friars paying the ransom for prisoners of Barbary pirates in 1599. This holy order was established with the specific goal of freeing Christian captives



Algiers, a Barbary corsair port with a slave market, seen in 1709. In the foreground are the oared galley ships that were used to pillage the Mediterranean and beyond

some hundreds of blows on their bare feet, forcing out the very blood”.

Emanuel d’Aranda, a Flemish soldier who was enslaved in Algiers in 1640–42, not only paints a portrait of men abandoned, destitute and unvalued but also one in which Britons were the most unfortunate of the unfortunate. “All nations made some shift to live, save only the British. The winter I was in the slave *bagnio*, I observ’d there died above 20 of them out of pure want. Nor are they therefore much esteem’d by the Turks; for a British man is sold at 60 or 70 Patacoons [the local currency], when a Spaniard or Italian is valued at 150, or 200.”

Dramatic effect

At the end of the 16th century there were perhaps 500 British slaves in Algiers. Three decades later, the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* for the reign of Charles I (CSPD, a collection of papers of the secretaries of state that are a rich source of contemporary detail), records that, in May 1626, a certain Hugh Ross “drinks to the Duke [of Buckingham’s] health, and wishes all his enemies in Algiers to relieve

In 1631, corsairs sacked the Irish town of Baltimore and abducted more than 100 people – men, women and children

3,000 English who are there, and 1,500 English who are in Sallee in misery”. These figures are likely inflated for dramatic effect, but even if the actual number of captives was half this, the increase is clear.

Some of the enslaved were ransomed, a few escaped, others died of overwork, malnutrition, disease or sheer despair. But for every captive who perished or gained their freedom, many more were captured. Between the end of the 16th century and the early part of the 18th, the corsairs might have enslaved as many as 25,000 Britons – at a time when Britain’s population was less than a tenth of today’s figure.

But how did the corsairs get away with it? And why was the number of captives so high? Part of the explanation lies in the fact that, at the beginning of the crisis, London failed to come up with an effective response. Captives from Catholic Mediterranean nations could rely on aid from their governments, long experienced in dealing with Barbary corsairs. They were also assisted by religious redemptive orders like the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians, founded in the Middle Ages with the specific goal of ransoming captives. London, on the other hand, had no institutional processes in place to deal effectively with the corsairs.

The Royal Navy was wholly unprepared to prevent the pirates’ attacks. There were too few ships and – with England in an almost constant state of turmoil, courtesy of plague, Civil War, and conflicts with Portugal, Spain, France and the Dutch Republic – too little in the way of funds to deal adequately with the scale of the threat.

In 1625, corsairs were said to have captured 1,000 seamen in the Plymouth area alone. A CSPD entry for 12 August that year reads: “The pirates are 26 or 27 sail strong. Sir Francis Stewart sent out five ships against them, but they are far better sailers than the English ships. Within three days the English ships left them and returned to Falmouth.”

One of the other issues obstructing coastal defence was corruption. The sack of Baltimore precipitated a round of official

The captive experience

What happened to Britons once they were captured?

Many found themselves sold into slavery in the Barbary city of Algiers. The outdoor slave market there was on the Al-Souk al-Kabir (the Great Street of the Souks), a wide thoroughfare lined with markets (souks) that transected the city. New captives were paraded along the Al-Souk al-Kabir while sellers shouted to attract buyers.

How were they sold?

Once in the slave market, captives were stripped and examined. Men had to jump about, demonstrating their fitness, and were hit with sticks if they did not promptly comply. Buyers examined their hands to see if they were calloused. (Soft hands indicated a life of ease and wealth, and therefore potential profits in the form of a large ransom.)

Buyers also examined male captives’ teeth to see if they were fit for work as oarsmen in the galleys (galley slaves were fed only hardtack biscuit).



What was life like for the slaves?

Once sold, slaves could find daily life grim. If not assigned the brutal drudgery of the galleys, men bought by the state were employed in hard labour: quarrying stone and hauling it off, working in chain gangs on building sites, turning the grinding wheels in grain mills like draft animals, or cleaning cesspits. Many were manacled and forced to drag heavy chains behind them (as pictured above, in a 17th-century engraving).

At night, they were locked up in *bagnios* (slave pens), where they slept on the cold stone floor.

Were they tortured?

If they ‘transgressed’, they could be punished with the *bastinado*: slaves were hoisted feet first into the air and the soles of their feet caned mercilessly.

Did any slaves prosper in their new surroundings?

A few. Algiers was a cosmopolitan city where slaves could advance through intelligence, skill or perseverance in ways that were impossible in stratified European societies. Some were ransomed and a few escaped, but the majority found no way out and ended their lives in miserable captivity.

These measures could, of course, only have any impact on the ground if they were **backed up by military might**

finger-pointing and recriminations revealing how the ships that were supposed to be out patrolling were stranded in port for want of supplies – the funds for which had been embezzled by those in the upper echelons of the naval bureaucracy.

Though unable to prevent corsair attacks, the authorities in London could, at least in theory, have secured the captives' freedom by paying a ransom. However, the government position initially was to refuse doing so on the grounds that it would only encourage more abductions. The merchant companies were equally reticent, though their reasons were strictly financial.

This left charitable donations, collected across the country, as the principal source of ransom money. But even these fell prey to embezzlement – in one case by the Royal Navy, which seized a sizeable sum of money to pay its back debts.

And even when the ransom money *did* reach its intended destination in north Africa, all too often it only freed those captives with the right connections back in England. Slaves who didn't know people in high places (such as the archbishop of Canterbury and members of the Privy Council, who decided how the donations were spent) were, more often than not, left to languish in captivity.

All the while, the captives' families were forced to endure the terrible uncertainty of not knowing if their loved ones would ever return – or if they were even still alive. In desperation, they staged public demonstrations and drafted petitions to king and parliament (including, in 1626, the first public petition submitted by women in British history). Their pleas met with little success. In fact, one of the results of their petitions was a royal decree banning them.

Yet the captives' families weren't the only constituency to be filled with fear and outrage. Merchants worried about the loss of their seamen and their profits. The seamen themselves were so concerned about the risks of being abducted that many of them resorted to shipping with other nations. This became such a problem that Charles I issued a royal



An illustration from the 1637 publication *Histoire de Barbarie* showing the different types of torture inflicted on Christian slaves in north Africa

proclamation officially commanding his subjects to return home. The issue of captives in Barbary grew so rancorous that it arguably became one of the causes of the strife that precipitated the Civil War.

Gunboat diplomacy

The resolution, when it did come, required a combination of political will and brute force. The government introduced procedures to clean up bureaucratic corruption, and parliament passed measures such as the 1642 'Act for the Relief of the Captives taken by Turkish Moorish and other Pirates', which made ransoming captives national policy and so enabled the creation of official expeditions to liberate captives en masse. London also set about negotiating treaties with the various Barbary States themselves.

These measures could, of course, only have an impact on the ground if they were backed up by military might. Luckily for those yearning for the captives' return, under the stewardship of England's lord protector Oliver Cromwell and later Samuel Pepys (in his position as clerk of the Acts to the Navy Board), during the second half of the 17th century the Royal Navy was transformed into a formidable weapon of war – growing in size, becoming increasingly professional and now bristling with cutting-edge maritime technology. By the end of the century, it was more than capable of dealing effectively with the corsairs.

In 1621, the Royal Navy attacked Algiers, but failed to accomplish anything much. Half a century later, it could clear the

Channel of corsairs and engage in effective gunboat diplomacy.

In 1665, a British naval force set fire to the corsair fleet in the harbour at Tunis and then attacked Algiers and liberated British captives there. In 1671, a British force burned the Algerian fleet anchored at Bougie, and in 1676 another destroyed the corsair fleet in the harbour at Tripoli. In 1713, after the War of the Spanish Succession, Britain took possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon in Majorca. Such Mediterranean bases enabled the navy not only to launch new attacks but also provide powerful protection for British merchant shipping. Eventually, the various Barbary States were compelled to sign nonaggression treaties, enforceable now thanks to a strong British naval presence.

The Barbary corsairs were not entirely eliminated until the 19th century, but by the middle of the 18th century, when 'Rule Britannia' was thrilling British audiences, the threat they posed to Britain was all but over. Britons could at last really feel that they never again would be slaves. **II**

Adam Nichols is associate professor of English at the University of Maryland

DISCOVER MORE

BOOK

► **The Travels of Reverend Ólafur Egilsson: The Story of the Barbary Corsair Raid on Iceland in 1627** translated by Adam Nichols & Karl Smári Hreinsson (The Catholic University of America Press, 2016)

Experts discuss and review the latest history releases

BOOKS



Laurence Rees photographed at his London home. "Some of the most extraordinary people I've met are former sonderkommandos: people forced on pain of death to assist the Germans in running the extermination machinery," he says

Photography by
Fran Monks



INTERVIEW / LAURENCE REES

"What they told us was, at the time, they felt it was the right thing to do"

Laurence Rees talks to **Rob Attar** about his new book on the Holocaust, which features his interviews with Nazis who committed atrocities, as well as Jewish survivors

FRAN MONKS

LAURENCE REES

Laurence Rees is a historian, author and documentary film-maker, whose series have included *The Nazis: A Warning from History*, *Auschwitz: The Nazis and 'The Final Solution'* and *Horror in the East*. In 2009 he launched the website *WW2History.com*, a multimedia resource on the Second World War. He will be one of the speakers at our World War II day next month. See page 40 for details

How come it was Germany that instigated the Holocaust?

That's a huge question. What's important to remember is that if you looked, for example, at what was happening in Russia prior to the First World War, there were far more instances of violent attacks on Jews than there ever were in Germany. So if you were around in the early years of the 20th century and had been asked to predict where something like this would happen, it's very unlikely you would have said Germany.

Why, then, did it happen there? I think a number of things came together. The most important was the loss in the First World War, which created an environment where people were looking for someone to blame. There was a huge amount of scapegoating and a feeling that "we'd been stabbed in the back" by the Jews. It was nonsense, of course, but there was a real sense of wanting to believe it was someone else's fault. Then at the same time you had the rise of communism in Russia and that spilled over into several uprisings in Germany in the years after the war. There were a number of Jews involved in that, so there was this conflation that Judaism equals Bolshevism.

So there was a combination of fear of communism, humiliation after the war and a sense that something had gone wrong with the nature of Germany. Several nationalistic groups emerged who wanted to put the 'German' people first – meaning an exclusion of Jews. And the person who was espousing this need in the most vitriolic way from the very beginning was Adolf Hitler.

Did the Nazis have a long-term plan to exterminate the Jews?

If you study the evidence, I don't believe you can possibly say that Hitler in the early 1920s had a blueprint to follow that was going to become the death camps in the east. But certainly, if you read *Mein Kampf*, which he wrote in 1924, it does exude a level of virtually psychopathic hatred about Jews. This is a man who's worked out in his mind that something needs to be done about these people.

At this point the policy of the Nazi party was removing citizenship from Jews and probably, eventually, expulsion. In terms of what actually happened, that was due to a whole series of circumstances, Hitler's reaction to those circumstances and a variety of different influences. At the core

of it, though, was always Hitler and his desire to do something about what he called the Jewish problem.

Auschwitz dominates popular visions of the Holocaust. Do you think that can be a problem, because large numbers of Jews also died elsewhere?

Absolutely, and when I did my original TV series *The Nazis: A Warning from History*, we called the episode we made about the extermination programme 'Road to Treblinka', not Auschwitz. Auschwitz was an extremely complicated enterprise for lots of different reasons. Even though it ended up being the site of the largest mass murder in the history of the world, that was only one of the functions it provided for the Nazi state. Whereas Treblinka was solely created for one purpose – mass murder.

Up to 900,000 people died at Treblinka, (which is nearly of the same level as Auschwitz at 1.1 million), and yet hardly anyone visits this location compared to Auschwitz. But if you did go, what you would see is very interesting: there is nothing there from the Nazi period. That's because the Nazis destroyed Treblinka, which had done its job by 1943. The camp was tiny compared to Auschwitz, and that for me encapsulates the horror in almost a more visceral way than a visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau, because you realise that if all you are going to do is murder people you need virtually no space.

Could other countries have done more to rescue Jews?

Certainly, more could have been done. In 1938 there was the international Evian Conference, where delegates discussed the question of what could be done to give refuge to Jews being persecuted in Germany and Austria. I don't think there is any doubt that if the west had offered to take these Jews, Hitler would have said: "Great, have

them." But it is complex because what most people don't realise is that at the time there was also a desire in some other eastern European countries to try and persuade many of their Jews to emigrate. So if you're a British official in 1938, you would be worried that if you take German and Austrian Jews then another country might say: "Take another million or so." Where would it end?

Where I do make a judgment is that the British, who were running a mandate in Palestine then, refused to consider the place in the 1930s as a home for all the persecuted Jews. There were many reasons for this, but nonetheless if there had been a move to open the gates to Palestine, that would have been an extraordinarily valuable thing to do. It is tragic in retrospect that something wasn't done along these lines.

You have met a number of perpetrators of the Holocaust in your career. How was it that they could commit such terrible acts, even murdering babies and children?

A good example of this for me was [former SS member] Oskar Groening who we interviewed for our *Auschwitz* series. We asked him how the Nazis could murder children and he said that the enemy wasn't the children but the blood in the children that would grow up to be a Jew. The reason they felt justified in their acts – and Himmler explicitly said this in a speech in 1943 – was that if you just killed the adults, the children would grow up to be avengers and they would come after your own children. So if you really loved your children then you should kill their children. If you were brave enough, you would have solved the problem for all time. That was the kind of stuff that was going on in their heads, I think.

So even after the Holocaust was over, some of those involved still felt they could justify it morally?

Yes, and this is one of the reasons I've carried on with this subject for 25 years. You dig and dig and dig and you can't get to the bottom of it, because often you don't expect the responses you get. If you talk, for example, to former members of the NKVD (Stalin's secret police), who were involved in the horrendous deportations of Kalmyks or Chechens or Crimean Tatars, in the most part what they'll say is: "If I didn't do it I

"They believed that if you really loved your children then you should kill their children"



The granite monument at the site of the Nazi death camp, Treblinka, in Poland, where as many as 900,000 people were murdered. The Nazis dismantled the camp at the end of 1943

would have been shot.” And it’s very hard to go somewhere in an interview after that. But what was extraordinary about all these former Nazis is that I don’t think we ever heard that answer in all the years we were doing this. What we tended to hear was at the time they felt it was the right thing to do.

Does this not make Holocaust denial even more ridiculous, when the perpetrators themselves don’t deny it?

It does. One of the amazing things about Oskar Groening is the reason that he gave us an interview on camera. He was really upset at his stamp-collecting club when he came across a Holocaust denier and it almost felt to him like an attempt to deny his own experience. He said: “Don’t tell me it didn’t happen – I was there.” He spoke out because he was against Holocaust denial!

You’ve also spoken to a number of Jewish people who became part of the apparatus of the Holocaust. How did they deal with the moral complexities of their situation?

Some of the most extraordinary people I’ve met in my life are former *sonderkommandos*: people who were forced on pain of their own immediate death to assist the Germans in the running of the extermination machinery. They could be involved in disentangling bodies in the gas chambers after people had been murdered, sorting the belongings of Jews, burying bodies – doing

“I’ve carried on with this subject for 25 years. You dig and dig and you still can’t get to the bottom of it”

the stuff of absolute nightmares. Of all the moral dilemmas you are ever going to face, this is one of the absolute toughest and I would never judge anyone in that situation because what are they going to do?

I will always remember a man, now dead, called Toivi Blatt, who was a *sonderkommando* at Sobibor death camp. I asked him what he had learned from this experience and he said – and I paraphrase him – “I’ve learned that nobody knows themselves, because it’s not until you are placed in a situation like this that you know who you are and what you are capable of.” He went on to add: “Sometimes I see people walking down the street and they’ll ask me for directions or I will ask them and I always look at them and think, ‘You seem like a nice guy, but what would you have been like in Sobibor?’”

It’s actually similar to something a former member of the SS said to me: that the trouble with the world today is people who have never been tested go around making judgments about people who have. That

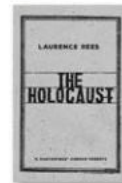
didn’t stop me believing that what he had done was disgusting and disgraceful, but it does make you think.

Do you think the Holocaust was the worst crime in human history?

I once asked Professor David Cesarani, who sadly died in 2015, this question and he said that in human history he couldn’t think of another case where a leader has decided that one ethnic-religious group will be exterminated down to the last baby and that he would create, in a short period of time, the mechanistic means to be able to achieve this.

And I agree with that. The Holocaust was ‘singular’. Stalin, for instance, was undoubtedly a monster responsible for the deaths of millions, but he never tried to exterminate an entire group of people. Large numbers of Kalmyks and Chechens survived his persecution. Whereas in certain areas of Europe there are virtually no Jews. There’s no question in my mind that had the war not

ended when it did we would have had a situation in Europe where there was not one Jew. Not one. **II**



The Holocaust by Laurence Rees (Viking, 528 pages, £25)

ON THE PODCAST

Listen out for an extended version of this interview on our weekly podcast, at historyextra.com/podcasts

NEWFROM THE MAKERS OF *BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE*

World Histories

Expert voices and fresh takes on our global past – and how it shapes our lives in the 21st century

INSIDE THE FIRST ISSUE...

🌐 Did the west ever really rule the world? 🌐 Donald Trump and the resurgence of populism 🌐 How India's WW2 home front shaped its future 🌐 Eyewitness to the Chernobyl disaster
🌐 The Koh-i-Noor scandal
🌐 The Beatles tour that shook the world 🌐 The latest history books, events and more

Plus – as a subscriber to *BBC History Magazine* you receive FREE UK postage on this magazine



ISSUE 1 ONLY £6.99 INC FREE P&P*

NEW

DON'T MISS THE FIRST ISSUE

ORDER ONLINE

www.buysubscriptions.com/worldhistories

or call us on **0844 844 0250⁺** and quote **WORLHA16**

+ Calls will cost 7p per minute plus your telephone company's access charge. Lines are open 8am–8pm weekdays & 9am–1pm Saturday

* Subscribers to *BBC History Magazine* receive FREE UK POSTAGE on this special edition. Prices including postage are: £8.49 for UK residents, £9.49 for Europe and £9.99 for Rest of World. All orders subject to availability. Please allow up to 21 days for delivery.



An 11th-century illustration of vassals pledging their loyalty to a lord under the system of allegiance that characterised much of medieval Europe

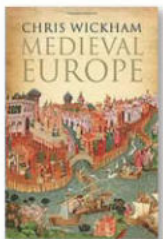
Shades of grey

NICHOLAS VINCENT on a wide-ranging survey of Europe that has little room for human eccentricity

Medieval Europe

by Chris Wickham

Yale, 352 pages, £25



The 12th-century schools of Paris, responsible for the greatest ferment of ideas since the time of classical Athens and Alexandria, produced a number of remarkable scholars. Among them was Peter Comestor – literally ‘Peter the eater’, named for his systematic devouring of the ideas and histories set out in the Bible. Among modern medievalists, few have rivalled Comestor so assiduously as Chris Wickham. This book, the latest in a long line of Wickham’s textbooks and syntheses, is certainly all-devouring. It has many virtues. It is learned, judicious and

wide-ranging. It is also based upon vast reading in half a dozen languages, both ancient and modern.

At the same time, as with an over-engineered Swiss watch, so much has been crammed in here that there is a danger of the means defeating the purpose. Moreover, as synthesisists from Karl Marx to Donald Trump have revealed, discerning patterns in the past can all too easily lead to oversimplification. Yet Wickham is too good a historian to allow his essentially Marxist agenda to smooth away all exceptions.

He offers history on a truly European scale, from Iceland to Antioch. England is here, more or less for the first time, fully integrated into a continental narrative. Yet it is no coincidence that this is a survey ending with violent revolutions in England and Bohemia, heralding the rise of capitalism and the next turn of the Marxist screw.

Where previous grand narratives have gone in search of heroes or villains, this is a study painted in shades of grey. Income tax trumps St Francis. Clovis and Charlemagne seized the opportunities available to them, but as agents of wider processes rather than as heroic individuals. As with the Saturday afternoon match results, there is also a breathless listing of instances: state-building in Portugal compared to that in Scotland, a nil-nil draw; France beats England 3–2 (on penalties); the Mongols sent off for gouging and ear-biting. Only when the tax-gathering capacities of the state were re-established – in England and France as a result of the Hundred Years’ War, in the Ottoman empire by inheritance from the Byzantine and Abbasid past – could Europe truly develop. The Middle Ages

Discerning patterns in the past can all too easily lead to oversimplification



COMING SOON...

"Next issue, I'll be talking to Robert Service about **The Last of the Tsars: Nicholas II and the Russian Revolution**. Plus, our reviewers will be exploring another shelf's worth of history books, including new looks at Saint Augustine, Shakespeare and Jonathan Swift." *Matt Elton, reviews editor*

meanwhile, were in essence an aftershock from the destruction of imperial Rome.

There is a surfeit of seriousness. The Normans in Sicily, we are told, robbed and pillaged for 'fun', just as Abelard and the theologians of 12th-century Paris had 'fun' splitting hairs in philosophical debate. In both instances they should have devoted themselves to more serious purposes: to rebuilding the Italian state or devising proper measures of political accountability. Where individuals do intrude – with the exception of a specifically gendered chapter, almost invariably men rather than women – it is as animated title deeds illustrating the spirit of their age.

Even in religion and art, there is a disregard for humanity and its eccentricities

In all of this, even in religion and art, there is a disregard for humanity and its eccentricities. Religion itself is a system extruded by economics. The historian's task is coolly and unemotionally to disentangle the significant from the accidental, substance from mere froth. Every 'problem' or inconsistency in the past can either be resolved or set aside.

This is in many ways a noble undertaking. Whether it will win new friends for the Middle Ages or inspire a coming generation of medievalists remains to be seen. Academic historians have struggled in recent years to speak to a broader public. For this gulf to be bridged, they need to rethink both their priorities and their audience. If they continue to speak only to one another, then like many previous high priest-hoods they will find themselves marginalised and ignored. Beowulf or Margery Kempe spoke in less refined accents than Peter Comestor. It is they, not he, who continue to be read and, more importantly, enjoyed. **H**

Nicholas Vincent is professor of medieval history, University of East Anglia

Secrets and spies

ASHLEY JACKSON considers the former Lib Dem leader's entertaining account of spying in occupied France

Game of Spies: The Secret Agent, the Traitor and the Nazi

by Paddy Ashdown

William Collins, 400 pages, £20



"The man's index finger slid forward along the cool metal surface of the Colt in his overcoat pocket." So begins *Game of Spies*, as a British agent prepares to execute – or murder? – a "lithe and

pretty" woman, Lucette Grandclément.

Rich in detail and characterisation, this absorbing tale takes us to wartime Bordeaux and the complex, often lethal world of espionage, resistance and collaboration. SOE agents parachute into occupied France with wireless sets and false documents, members of the French Resistance gather intelligence and blow things up, and Gestapo officers give rein to their penchant for interrogation and torture.

Tracing the lives of a handful of major protagonists drawn from all three sides, the book evokes the atmosphere of Bordeaux under the occupation – an atmosphere informed by suspicion, betrayal and the constant prospect of denunciation, incarceration and execution. On the other side, it chronicles the extent of anti-German activity orchestrated by British agents and members of the Resistance, particularly in the last days of German rule.

The narrative thrives on a large cast of characters, such as British

agent Roger Landes, a refugee from Paris, with a British passport, plucked from a desk job with London County Council and sent to France to join SOE's 'Scientist' circle. Another central actor, Friederich Dohse, was the Gestapo counter-espionage officer charged with finding him, together with his assistant ("blonde tresses and Wagnerian proportions").

Game of Spies aims to inform and entertain, with stories (as the blurb puts it) of "betrayal, bed-hopping and executions". It is a cut above many books in the thriller-history category, but is subject to concerns commonly associated with it: some readers, for instance, may wish to further investigate the role of Britain and of its agencies, particularly SOE, as well as assertions about the French Resistance and, indeed, the way in which we construct our popular memories of the war.

Ashdown's prose is stylish and sustains a fast-moving, well-woven narrative. The acknowledgements offer generous praise for co-writer and researcher Sylvie Young, to the extent that one wonders why her name doesn't also appear on the cover. The text is bereft of reference numbers, so bears no easy relation to the similarly-unnumbered endnotes – an unfortunate error on the part of the publisher.

The major impression left by the book is one of sadness. At root it is about the private lives of ordinary people buckled and broken by evil aggression, the harrowing decisions that individuals were forced to make, and the faint lines between right and wrong when humans are forced to struggle to survive. **H**

Leaders of the French Resistance in Bordeaux, 1944. Ashdown vividly evokes the tension in the occupied city



Ashley Jackson, professor of history at King's College London

GETTY IMAGES



William Hogarth's illustration of a coffee house, 1733. Peter Ackroyd's book captures a time when "politics was conducted in alehouses and at gaming tables as much as it was at Westminster"

A time of dissent

ALAN FORREST enjoys a subtle portrayal of an England in transition

Revolution

by Peter Ackroyd

Macmillan, 352 pages, £19.99



The fourth volume of Peter Ackroyd's *History of England* series discusses the late Stuart and Georgian era. It carries the reader effortlessly from the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which the English believed had blessed their country with a perfect constitutional balance, to the French Revolution and the reactions that it, and the ensuing wars with Napoleon, produced on this side of the Channel.

Ackroyd is careful to maintain the essential thread of a political narrative throughout the book, but that is not what

gives it its distinctive flavour. Rather, he looks at revolution through a wide lens, straying from high politics to commerce and consumerism, industrialisation and urban growth, social habits and literary tastes, in a period that saw dramatic changes in almost every facet of English life. He is acutely aware of the role played by the Church of England and anti-Catholicism, and of the symbolic importance of the Protestant Reformation to English identity. The growl of political dissent is never far below the surface.

Ackroyd has an especially keen ear for cultural change, for those aspects of life

Ackroyd portrays the constant undercurrent of violence

that had little to do with politics: revolutions in printing, in newspaper readership, and in sociability – whether in the coffee houses of the new metropolitan elite or in the gin palaces of the poor. He discusses changes in taste and examines public attitudes to drunkenness and prostitution.

He is particularly interesting on the social mores of the capital. This was a time when Londoners showed a new passion for public performances and theatrical productions, and for shows of emotion and sentimentality. It was a time when the public sphere was redefined, especially in the capital, where politics was conducted in alehouses, at gaming tables and before the windows of print shops as much as it was at Westminster.

Ackroyd portrays the constant undercurrent of violence of these years, which had surfaced during the Gordon Riots in 1780 and was revived in the 1790s by the French Revolution. It manifested itself variously in the demands of the London Corresponding Society, the anger of mobs in Birmingham, and the naval mutinies at Spithead and the Nore. There was also a parallel undercurrent of judicial violence, reflected in the savage penalties that were imposed at the first hint of insurrection. Violence in the streets was met with violence in the courts and at Tyburn, as English judges routinely handed down sentences of hanging and transportation to quell public dissent.

The author quite consciously limits his discussion to England: there is little on the rest of the British Isles. He quotes liberally from literary sources of the period, incorporating passages from Pope and Swift, Sterne and Defoe, and allows the reader to understand the complexities of English society through the eyes and speech of their characters.

The result is a coherent and subtle portrait of a country in transition, from an author who never hesitates to add his own crisp, occasionally acerbic, judgments – all delivered with a pleasing lightness of touch. **H**

Alan Forrest is emeritus professor of modern history at the University of York

Obaysch, London Zoo's first hippo, attracted up to 10,000 visitors a day in the 1850s and even spawned a dance called the Hippopotamus Polka

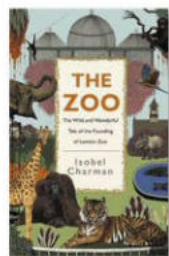
The people at the zoo

HELEN COWIE enjoys an account of London Zoo's early years, rich in personal insights

The Zoo: The Wild and Wonderful Tale of the Founding of London Zoo

by Isobel Charman

Viking, 368 pages, £16.99



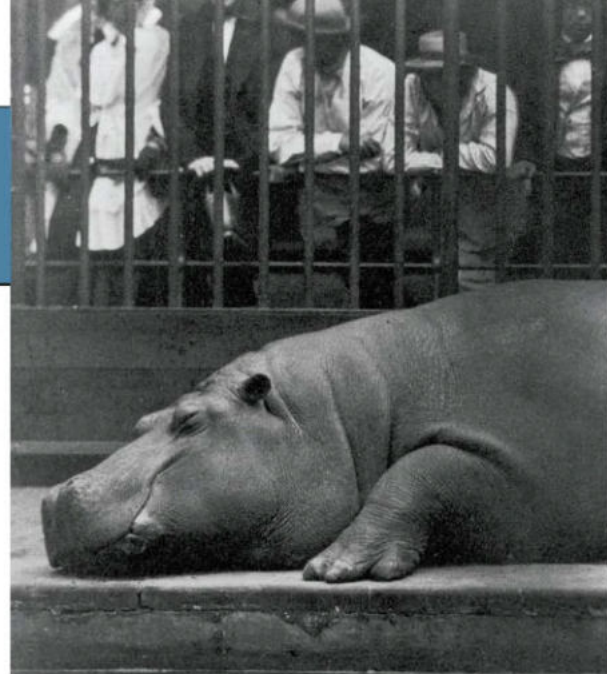
On 25 May 1850 thousands of people congregated at Southampton docks to see the first ever hippopotamus imported into Britain. Captured on the island of Obaysch on the

White Nile, after which he was named, the young hippo had been shipped to England aboard the P&O steamer Ripon and was on his way to London Zoo. Still only a calf, the animal drank about 80 pints of milk per day during the voyage and bathed "three or four times daily" in a specially constructed iron tank. Following his arrival in London he became an instant sensation, generating a range of hippo-themed memorabilia and even inspiring a Hippopotamus Polka.

Obaysch's story provides the finale to Isobel Charman's new book, *The Zoo*. Drawing on correspondence and records housed in the Zoological Society's archives, Charman takes us on a journey from the zoo's founding in the mid-1820s to Obaysch's arrival in 1850. She charts the highs and lows of Britain's first zoological garden, as it grappled with dying animals, drunken keepers and plummeting visitor numbers, and situates the zoo's emergence within the wider social contexts of industrialisation, imperial expansion and political reform.

There are already many academic and institutional histories of London Zoo and Charman's findings do not radically alter their conclusions. What she does very

We follow the zoo's first vet as he tends to vomiting pumas and teething lion cubs



effectively, however, is personalise the story of the zoo's emergence by presenting each chapter from the perspective of one of the chief protagonists. So we see the trials and tribulations of the zoo's creation through the eyes of its chief proponent, Sir Stamford Raffles. We follow the zoo's first veterinary surgeon, Charles Spooner, as he tends to constipated dromedaries, vomiting pumas and teething lion cubs, and we accompany chief keeper Devereux Fuller as he treats a rhinoceros with colic and mourns the death of Tommy the young chimpanzee.

We also view the zoo through the eyes of two of the most respected naturalists of the day, the taxidermist John Gould, who stuffed specimens for the zoo's museum, and the young Charles Darwin,

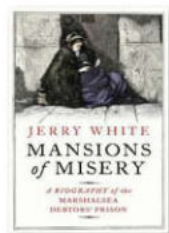
Jail tales

CLIVE EMSLEY rates a thoroughgoing account of life for those unlucky enough to be sent to Marshalsea debtors' prison

Mansions of Misery: A Biography of the Marshalsea Debtors' Prison

by Jerry White

The Bodley Head, 384 pages, £20



In 1718 an anonymous poet and inmate of London's Marshalsea described the prison as "Hell in Epitome". Situated in Southwark, the Marshalsea existed from the Middle

Ages. It held those accused of conspiring against the monarch, rioters and,

especially during the Reformation, those charged with offending God. But it was also noted for holding debtors and made several appearances in Dickens' work. From the age of 12 the novelist was haunted by his father's incarceration as a debtor.

Jerry White, who has a formidable reputation as a historian of London, has chosen to focus on the Marshalsea in the 18th and 19th centuries for this meticulously researched, well-crafted book. The prison itself looms over the work but, as was the case with White's original work on Rothschild Buildings and Campbell

Bunk ("the worst street in North London"), it is the lives of those caught up in the surroundings that most interest him.

During the 18th century and much of the 19th there was no proper credit mechanism. Everyone, White argues, at some point was a debtor. The situation was worst for the poor, who did not always have ready money. Tradesmen provided goods on the promise of future payment, as did doctors and a variety of other service providers. But, however patient they were, such tradesmen and other providers also needed to keep themselves solvent. At the same time, lawyers and others were ready to intervene in disputes. They were often unscrupulous and keen, principally, to line their own pockets.

The core of the book focuses on the tragic, occasionally colourful characters

GETTY IMAGES



who spent many hours in the gardens studying the female orang-utan, Jenny.

While some of Charman's conclusions about the private thoughts and personal relationships of these individuals are a little speculative, her approach highlights the conflicting interests and social networks that underpinned the zoo's foundation, and the tensions inherent within contemporary science and society. Indeed, what comes across most strongly is not so much the 'wonderful' character of London Zoo, as the hard graft, rivalries and political negotiations that lay behind its creation. **H**

Helen Cowie is the author of *Exhibiting Animals in 19th-Century Britain* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

confined in the Marshalsea, such as John Baptist Grano, a musician who spent 16 months in the Marshalsea at the end of the 1720s. Grano got into debt through his aspirations to appear a gentleman, and he sought to continue this life in the Marshalsea. His story is followed by that of William Acton, the chief turnkey at the time. Acton needed money for renting the prison in order to avoid joining those that he guarded; he tortured people and fleeced charities to do so, though successive juries acquitted him of murder.

In sum, this is a splendid book providing a vivid image of the Hanoverian and early Victorian worlds, of their societies and, particularly, of a cross-section of people living on the edge. **H**

Clive Emsley is emeritus professor of history at the Open University

GETTY IMAGES

WANT MORE ?

For interviews with authors of the latest books, check out our weekly podcast at historyextra.com/podcasts



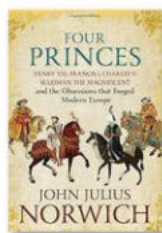
Friends and rivals

TRACY BORMAN looks at an inspired portrait of four powerful men who held the 16th century in their hands

Four Princes

by John Julius Norwich

John Murray, 304 pages, £25



John Julius Norwich is a prolific author best known for his seminal history of Venice, which still stands as one of the greatest books of all time.

He applies the same scholarly approach and keen eye for detail to this vibrant portrait of four men – Henry VIII, Francis I, Charles V and Suleiman the Magnificent – who dominated the world stage for the first half of the 16th century.

Never before had the world seen four such 'giants' co-existing. As Norwich points out: "Sometimes friends, more often enemies, always rivals, these four men together held Europe in the hollow of their hands." This was no exaggeration. Henry, Francis, Charles and Suleiman were all born in the same decade, between 1491 and 1500. Each dictated their own country's history and, collectively and individually, shaped the beginnings of the modern world.

Although united by ambition, the four princes were very different men. Francis I of France was "bursting with energy and swagger" and his court was the envy of the world. Like Francis, Henry VIII was not born to be king but revelled in the autonomy that it gave him and, by appointing himself head of the Church of England, extended it even further. Charles V (ruler of the Spanish empire and Holy Roman empire) was the most powerful of the four and his domains covered vast swathes of the globe – but was a far less strident character. The Ottoman Empire's Suleiman the Magnificent, meanwhile, eclipsed his rivals in wealth and military might, but also shared their artistic and architectural prowess.

With characteristic deftness of touch,

Norwich brings each character vividly to life and skilfully weaves their stories together. Henry VIII's turbulent marital history contrasts sharply with Charles V's monasticism, and Suleiman's horrifying brutality is thrown into dramatic relief by Francis I's hedonistic lifestyle. With the seismic cultural and religious shifts of the Renaissance and Reformation, coupled with unprecedented overseas discovery, it was, as the author puts it, "an exciting time to be alive".

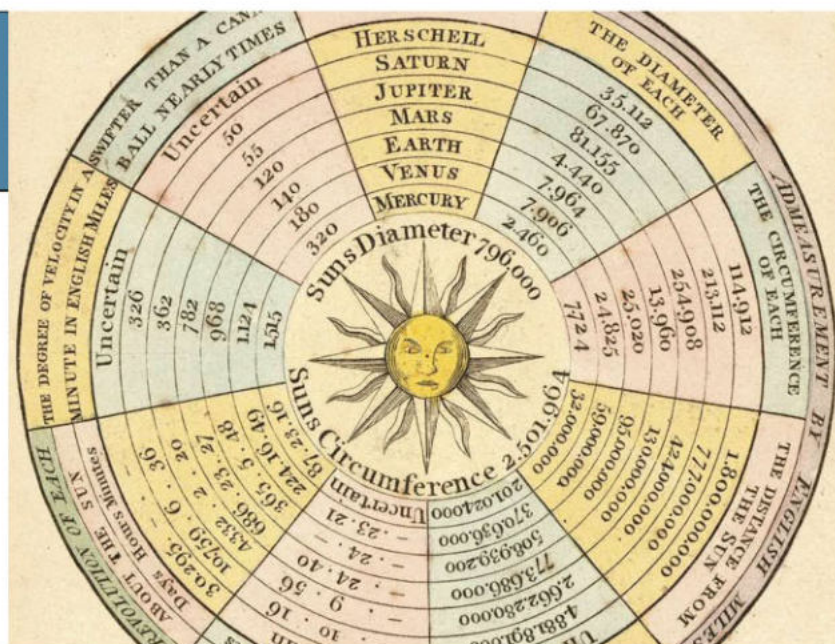
Alongside the four men, Norwich introduces a dazzling cast of characters: from Leonardo da Vinci to Martin Luther, Joanna the Mad to Anne Boleyn. The papacy also plays a pivotal role, intensifying the rivalry between the men.

Individually, the four princes are well known, but never before have their lives and reigns been considered in one composite biography. As a result, even though most of the research is not new, the portrayal feels entirely fresh and enables the reader to gain new insights into some of history's most familiar characters. It is a genuinely inspired idea for a book, and Norwich executes it with typical aplomb. **H**

Tracy Borman's books include *The Private Lives of the Tudors* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2016)



King Francis I of France, one of the four world-changers in Norwich's biography



An 18th-century chart of the solar system. "Pipkin works hard to encompass the promises and dangers of scientific discovery," says Nick Rennison

FICTION

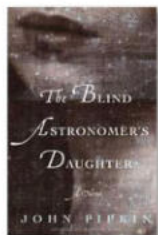
Star-crossed lovers

NICK RENNISON admires a love story set against the Irish Rebellion and the search for an unknown planet

The Blind Astronomer's Daughter

by John Pipkin

Bloomsbury, 480 pages, £18.99



On his isolated country estate in late 18th-century Ireland, English gentleman and amateur astronomer Arthur Ainsworth descends into blindness and madness as he scans the skies for the

new planet of which he has long dreamed. His only assistant is his adopted daughter Caroline, who watches with dismay as he is driven to envious despair by news of William Herschel's discovery of King George's Star, later to be renamed Uranus.

Caroline is soon to have more earthbound problems. After her father's death, the machinations of his devious agent Colum McPherson result in her disinheritance. Leaving behind not only her home but also the man she loves, Finn, nephew of the local blacksmith, she is forced to depart Ireland for London. Thanks to McPherson's plotting, Finn is also dispatched into

exile. He heads for Edinburgh where the mechanical genius he has developed while working on Ainsworth's astronomical instruments brings him success. When circumstances later return Caroline and Finn to their native country, Ireland is in turmoil. It's 1798 and the lovers' reunion unhappily coincides with the uprising of the United Irishmen against British rule. They are drawn unwillingly into the bloody confrontations that follow.

Pipkin works hard to encompass the promises and dangers of scientific discovery, the needs of a woman to establish her own identity, and the clash between individual desire and the wider forces of history. He is almost too ambitious, occasionally introducing promising subject matter (Caroline's encounter with the caricaturist James Gillray, for example) which he cannot then find room to explore. However, this remains a powerful, affecting story of men and women striving to understand the immensity of the universe and their own small places within it. **H**

Nick Rennison is the author of *Carver's Truth* (Corvus, 2016)

THREE MORE ASTRONOMERS IN FICTION

Doctor Copernicus

John Banville (1976)



John Banville weaves together a compelling narrative and intellectual speculation in order to bring to life the Polish priest whose theories undermined medieval ideas about man's position in the universe. His Copernicus is haunted by questions about the value of his new heliocentric ideas and agonisingly uncertain about his ability to understand the world his God has planned. It is a poignant portrait of a man torn between faith and doubt.

Percival's Planet

Michael Byers (2010)



Set partly in the Lowell Observatory in Arizona, founded by the wealthy astronomer Percival Lowell to pursue his theory that another world, a so-called 'Planet X', awaited discovery, this is the story of Clyde Tombaugh, the farmer's son who made the theory a reality by tracking down the dwarf planet Pluto. Cleverly mixing real-life individuals with his own fictional characters, Byers produces a fascinating tale of visionaries and obsessives in search of new worlds.

Private Life

Jane Smiley (2010)



In the early years of the 20th century, Margaret Mayfield is rescued from potential spinsterhood by her marriage to Captain Andrew Early, a naval officer and astronomer with ambitions to solve the mysteries of the cosmos. Jane Smiley's sad but engaging novel charts Margaret's gradual disillusionment with her marriage. While she and her husband grow further apart, Early's theories about the universe he observes become ever more delusional.



Tom Hardy plays the vengeful James Delaney in *Taboo*

Jonathan Wright previews the pick of upcoming programmes

TV & RADIO



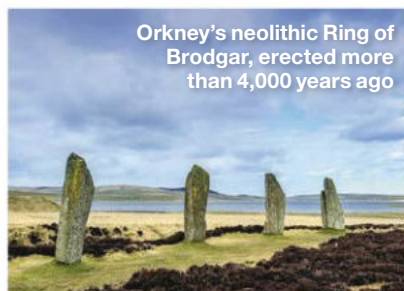
Death in the family

Taboo

TV BBC One, scheduled for January

For fans of dark historical dramas, 2017 starts with a real treat. *Taboo*, an eight-part miniseries due to premiere on BBC One early in January, sees Tom Hardy (of *The Revenant* and *Batman* fame) playing adventurer James Delaney. Set in 1814, the drama follows Delaney's fortunes as he returns to Britain from Africa with 14 stolen diamonds, seeking vengeance after the death of his father.

Hardy himself created *Taboo* along with his father, Chips, and Steven Knight, best known for conceiving the popular BBC series *Peaky Blinders*. Oona Chaplin (*Game of Thrones*), Jonathan Pryce (*Evita*) and Michael Kelly (*House of Cards*) co-star.



Orkney's neolithic Ring of Brodgar, erected more than 4,000 years ago

Ring leaders

Britain's Ancient Capital: Secrets of Orkney

TV BBC Two
scheduled for January

Separated from the Scottish mainland by the Pentland Firth, the fastest-flowing tidal race in Europe, Orkney is seen as an isolated place. Yet it wasn't always thus. In the Stone Age this was a busy, culturally vital spot. Indeed, according to a new theory, it may even have been the cultural capital of ancient Britain. In a new three-part series, historian Neil Oliver, naturalist Chris Packham, explorer Andy Torbet and science broadcaster Dr Shini Somara join archaeologists at one of Europe's biggest digs to see evidence supporting the idea that Orkney was the cradle of the stone circle cult that gave us Stonehenge.

What lies beneath

Michael Scott discusses his discoveries from delving below a trio of Italy's most historic cities

Italy's Invisible Cities

TV BBC One, scheduled for January

How do you convey the extraordinary richness of Italy's history? Explore and map the spaces beneath its cities. That's the idea behind a new three-part series hosted by Dr Michael Scott and Alexander Armstrong in which they visit Naples, Venice and Florence.

Each city was chosen to represent a particular era in Italy's history, with Naples selected for its Roman heritage. "You think of it as a dangerous city, a chaotic city – and it is those things," says Scott. "But when you spend some time there, you realise that it has an extraordinary energy. And that energy comes from the fact that the people who live there have, since time immemorial, been dancing on a geothermal hotplate."

That aspect became clear to Scott during a scuba dive off the coast west of Naples, at a spot that lies "on top of a large, lava-filled chamber" that rises and falls over the years, changing the level of the land. Because of this movement, the ancient Roman resort of Baia now lies under the sea. On his dive Scott admired a "perfect, pristine

Roman mosaic floor as beautiful as the day it was laid 2,000 years ago".

The duo's trip to Venice to explore its rise in the medieval era was similarly soggy, as Scott dived down to see the foundations on which the city rests – surprisingly basic engineering. "It's effectively taking a wooden pylon and hammering it into the mud along the edge of the bit of the lagoon you want to strengthen and protect, and then building up on top of that," says Scott. "It's no more high-tech than that."

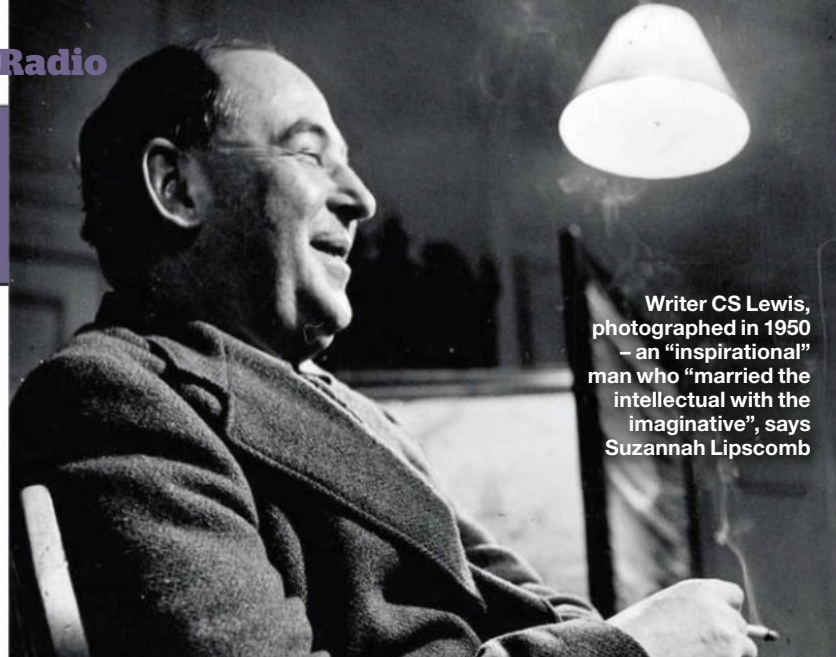
Simple – but effective, because the brackish water in the Venetian Lagoon "doesn't allow enough parasites to grow in the water to eat at the wood". Instead, exposed wood "gets slowly petrified".

Finally, the two men explore Florence's role in the Renaissance, and ask how a city "managed not only to turn up all the volume controls on the natural competitive instinct in humanity", but then harnessed the energy this produced "and channelled it towards the creation of feats of architecture, art and technology that were utterly unsurpassable" – a view borne out by cutting-edge 3D visualisations including remarkable images of Florence's cathedral. **H**

St Mark's Basilica in Venice – a city built on surprisingly basic submarine foundations

The brackish water in the Venetian lagoon "doesn't allow parasites to grow in the water to eat at the wood"





Writer CS Lewis, photographed in 1950 – an “inspirational” man who “married the intellectual with the imaginative”, says Suzannah Lipscomb

Lewis the lionheart

Great Lives

RADIO Radio 4

scheduled for Tuesday 3 January

In the first 2017 show of the biographical series hosted by Matthew Parris, Suzannah Lipscomb lauds the scholar, theologian and novelist CS Lewis.

“Lewis’s life and writings are profoundly inspirational,” she says. “In many ways, he represents both what I want to be and to do.”

By this, she means that he was a scholar who wanted to make ideas accessible, a man who “married the intellectual with the imaginative”, and who “wrote

intelligently about faith and cared about the ethics of things”.

Like so many others, Lipscomb first encountered Lewis when reading his ‘Narnia’ novels. “He was a master of using stories to examine the truth of the human heart,” she says of his fiction. But she also commends his academic writing, his Christian apologetics and less-celebrated texts such as his “frank and moving book on sorrow after the death of his wife, *A Grief Observed*”.

As for recent criticisms of Lewis – Philip Pullman even described the ‘Narnia’ books as “wicked” – Lipscomb begs to differ. “Generations of children have disagreed with Pullman’s conclusion,” she says, “and I cannot think of a more inappropriate epithet for them.”

Killing season

Anthropoid

DVD (ICON Entertainment: £9.99)

In December 1941, exiled Czechoslovak resistance fighters, Jozef Gabčík and Jan Kubiš, secretly returned to their occupied homeland. The objective of their mission, Operation Anthropoid, was simple: an assassination. But carrying it out couldn’t have been more difficult because their target was Reinhard Heydrich, a heavily protected SS leader, instigator of attacks against Jews and an architect of the Holocaust.

Anthropoid, shown in cinemas earlier in 2016, is primarily a taut thriller, especially in the early

part of the film when the would-be killers, short on both equipment and intelligence back-up, realise just how hard their task will be. Later, in its depiction of the vicious reprisals that followed, it’s also a reminder of the sheer brutality unleashed by Nazism.

Anthropoid is also noteworthy in not taking too many liberties with historical events, notably in a lengthy shootout scene where the temptation to embellish must have been near overwhelming. That’s not to say that

director and co-writer Sean

Ellis’s film is wholly successful, but it is gritty

and, in large part thanks to strong central performances from Cillian Murphy (*Peaky Blinders*) and Jamie Dornan (*The Fall*), it rings true.



Jamie Dornan stars as resistance fighter Jan Kubiš in *Anthropoid*

ALSO LOOK OUT FOR...



World War Weird charts an apparent Nazi plan to build a flying saucer

For those who suffer from post-Christmas torpor and need waking up, the ever-excellent **In Our Time** (Radio 4, begins Thursday 29 December) is a gift. Forthcoming shows find Melvyn Bragg and guests discussing, among other subjects, German mathematician, astronomer and astrologer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630). If that CV doesn’t sound too exciting, consider that he also defended his mother against a charge of witchcraft. In the offing as well is a show about Mary, Queen of Scots (Thursday 19 January), with acclaimed biographer John Guy among the guests.

Yesterday screens the UK premiere of **World War Weird** (Tuesday 24 January), looking at some of the stranger stories to come out of the Second World War, including a Nazi plan to build a flying saucer, and the tale of a hoard of sunken treasure said to have been looted by Rommel. There’s also a welcome re-run for **Castles: Britain’s Fortified History** (Thursday 12 January), presented by Sam Willis.

On H2, highlights include **Ancient Top Ten** (Monday 16 January), which counts down such subjects as ‘Secrets of Egypt’ and ‘Rome’s Greatest Hits’. Contributors include Bettany Hughes and Andy Torbet. On the same channel, **WWII’s Most Daring Raids** (Wednesday 11 January) charts some of the more audacious attacks against the Third Reich, and **Defying Hitler** (Saturday 14 January) includes the remarkable story of how Romania’s King Michael stood up to the Nazis in 1944.



mshed.org

Yasmin Khan

Join us for
two day-events
in Bristol

BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE EVENTS

Victorians Day

Saturday 25 February 2017, 10am–5.30pm

Venue: M Shed, Princes Wharf, Bristol BS1 4RN

With Saul David, Kathryn Hughes, Jerry White, Frank Trentmann and Jane Ridley

Delve into the fascinating stories of Victorian Britain and discover the life of the monarch who gave this era its name. This event includes a buffet lunch and regular teas and coffees

"Famous Victorians and their Unruly Body Parts"
Kathryn Hughes

"The Debtors' Prison in Victorian London: Fact and Fiction"
Jerry White

"The Light Brigade: Who Blundered?"
Saul David

"Private Comfort, Public Spirit: Victorian Consumer Culture in a Global Context"
Frank Trentmann

"Queen Victoria: The True Story"
Jane Ridley

> Visit historyextra.com/events for full details

World War II Day

Sunday 26 February 2017, 10am–5.30pm

Venue: M Shed, Princes Wharf, Bristol BS1 4RN

With Lloyd Clark, Laurence Rees, Yasmin Khan, Daniel Todman and Nicholas Stargardt

Get fresh perspectives on several aspects of the war, including the battle for France, the German view and the Holocaust. This event includes a buffet lunch and regular teas and coffees

"Blitzkrieg, France 1940: Man, Machine and Myth"
Lloyd Clark

"The Holocaust: Meeting Those who were There"
Laurence Rees

"Fighting Different Wars: Britain's Many Different Second World Wars and Why They Matter"
Daniel Todman

"What were They Fighting for? German Mentalities in World War Two"
Nicholas Stargardt

"Women and War in the British Empire"
Yasmin Khan

> Visit historyextra.com/events for full details

SPECIAL
EVENT



**PLUS:
Bettany Hughes
on Istanbul**

**Saturday 25 February
2017, 7pm–8pm M Shed**

Join historian, broadcaster and author Bettany Hughes for an evening in-conversation session about the history of one of the world's most important cities. The event will be followed by a book signing.

Tickets are priced at £12 for subscribers or those who have purchased tickets for either or both day events. The price for other attendees is £14

Tickets
on sale
now

Book tickets online at **historyextra.com/events**
or call **0871 620 4021***

Please quote the code SUBSMshed and have your subscriber number to hand when booking (you can find this on the address label of your magazine). If you have a digital subscription, please forward your subscription order confirmation to events.team@immediate.co.uk and our digital marketing team will supply you with a code for reduced rate tickets.

*calls cost 13p per minute plus network extras. Lines open 24 hours a day

Tickets:

£70 per day for subscribers to *BBC History Magazine*

£80 per day for non-subscribers

£12/£14 for the Bettany Hughes talk

TERMS AND CONDITIONS We reserve the right to replace any speaker with an alternative of equal stature in the unlikely event that they are unable to attend. Please let us know when booking of any special access and/or dietary requirements. *BBC History Magazine* subscribers should have their subscriber number to hand when booking. Tickets are non-refundable and places are limited. A £2.25 transaction fee applies to all bookings.

OUT & ABOUT

HISTORY EXPLORER

The Knights Templar

Helen Nicholson and Charlotte Hodgman visit **Temple Church in London** to explore an order of warrior monks who won glory on the battlefields of the Holy Land in the 12th and 13th centuries

Hidden in plain sight between bustling Fleet Street and the busy waters of the river Thames is Temple Church, an oasis of calm in the heart of London. Our journey to the church is by way of a 'secret' passageway, a cobbled lane that today echoes to the clip-clop of smart shoes and the rumble of cases. The passageway conveys you to a site that, 800 years ago, was the English headquarters of the Knights Templar, an order of warrior monks whose *raison d'être* was to guard pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land and protect territory captured during the First Crusade.

Consecrated in February 1185, with Henry II – the order's most high-profile patron – most likely present, Temple Church originally formed part of a much larger monastic compound of domestic buildings, military training facilities and cloisters, leading straight down to the Thames. The church's very shape would have made it stand out from the buildings surrounding it, as it still does today. The circular nave – the first part of the church to be built – mirrors the shape of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which is claimed to contain the sites of both the crucifixion and tomb of Jesus of Nazareth.

As we enter Temple Church, winter sunlight streams through the tall glass windows, illuminating the effigies of some of its more famous residents. Famed knight William Marshal, chief advisor to King John and regent in the minority of Henry III, is buried here, together with his son,

William, one of the 25 barons appointed to enforce Magna Carta. So too is an infant son of Henry II. The nine stone effigies set into the chancel's limestone floor are eternally poised for battle, lying under the gaze of the stone gargoyles that circle the nave – some gruesome, others cheeky.

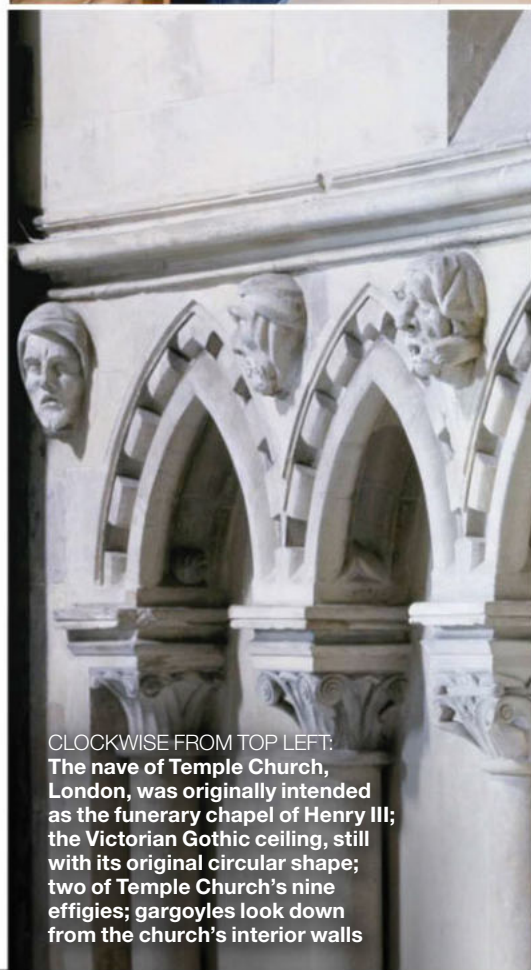
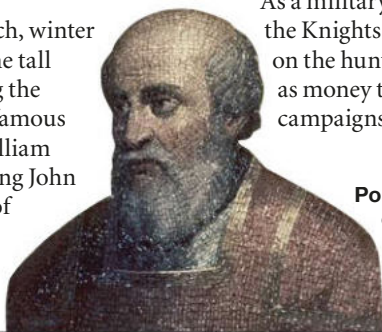
Templar beginnings

"The Gothic beauty of Temple Church belies the movement's humble beginnings," says Helen Nicholson, professor of medieval history at Cardiff University. "The order began in Jerusalem, in around 1118-19, and was officially sanctioned by Pope Honorius II at the Council of Troyes in north-eastern France in 1129." It wasn't long before the order was making its presence felt across Europe.

"The Knights Templars started to acquire property and support in England in c1128, after Hugh de Payens – one of the order's founding members – met with Henry I," says Nicholson. "Donations of money and land flowed in steadily, with the order receiving particular support from Queen Matilda (who, helpfully for the Templars, was the niece of the king of Jerusalem), her husband, King Stephen, and Henry II, who became one of the order's main patrons."

As a military, as well as religious, force, the Knights Templar was constantly on the hunt for new recruits, as well as money to pay for equipment and campaigns in the Holy Land. But

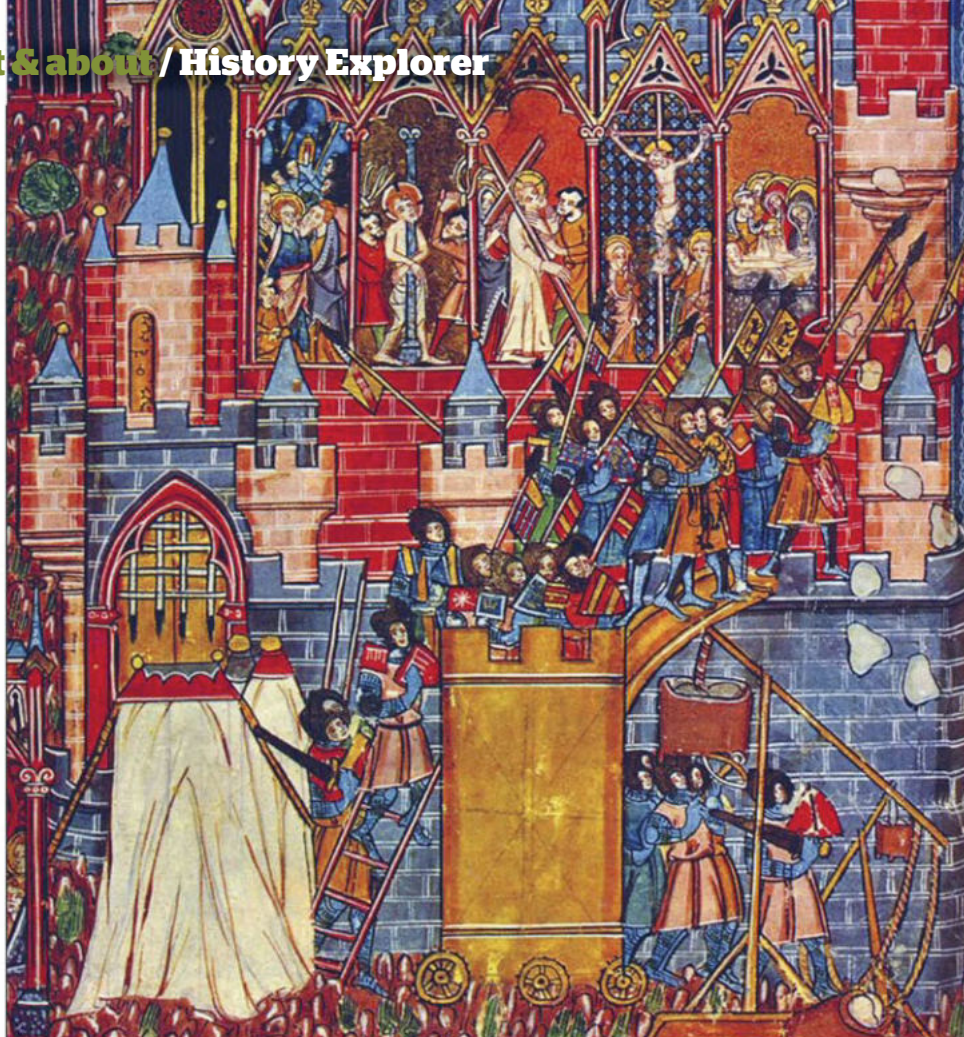
Pope Honorius II, who officially sanctioned the Knights Templar in 1129



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: The nave of Temple Church, London, was originally intended as the funerary chapel of Henry III; the Victorian Gothic ceiling, still with its original circular shape; two of Temple Church's nine effigies; gargoyles look down from the church's interior walls

ALAMY/AGK





A 13th-century illustration of the Siege of Jerusalem in 1099. The Knights Templar was formed, in part, to protect land captured during the First Crusade of 1095–99

becoming a Templar was not a decision to be undertaken on a whim, and not every recruit was destined to join the order.

“In theory, all you needed to join the Knights Templar was to be convinced of your vocation to fight for God,” says Nicholson. “The brothers (as they became on joining) were required to make three monastic vows: to relinquish all personal property; to obey their commanding officer; and to abstain from sex. Links to the outside world were forbidden, so successful recruits had to be unmarried, debt-free, able-bodied and prepared to fight. However, if you brought a lot of money or land with you, a blind eye could be turned to any, or all of the above.”

A familiar sight

Once a recruit had been deemed to meet all the criteria, he would be required to attend an admission ceremony, which would initially have taken place at London’s Temple

Church. His uniform – a white mantle to which a red cross at the left breast or shoulder was later added – would have been a familiar sight across Europe from the 1140s, when it was first introduced.

The order achieved notable successes on the battlefields of the Holy Land, for example at Montgisard in 1177, where they helped defeat a far larger force led by the great Muslim warrior Saladin. This earned them the respect of their enemies, not least because they were forbidden from retreating in battle. Even Saladin held the Knights Templar in high regard, declaring that they were the only people he was prepared to trust and negotiate with.

“The idea of the ‘warrior monk’ who served God but who was prepared to kill was pretty revolutionary,” says Nicholson, “and there was some criticism of the order. Nevertheless, the Knights Templar was soon well-established across the British Isles, particularly in Norman-French areas such

as Wales, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and along the east coast of England.” In fact, it’s thought that, at one point, it was the biggest landowner in England after the king.

Buzzing with activity

“The Knights Templar was more than just a crusading movement; it was a business,” says Nicholson. “The lands they held needed to be managed, not just to make money, but also for the benefit of the order’s patrons to ensure their continued support. Many people were employed on estates owned by the Knights Templar, working the land for profit, and local communities would have expected to receive charity from their local Templars. The order even ran its own pension scheme! The complex here at Temple Church would have been buzzing with activity, and its position close to the river put it in a prime position for trading.”

The order continued to thrive throughout the 12th century and for much of the 13th. But then its fortunes changed. Islamic forces went on the offensive, inflicting a series of defeats upon their enemies. In 1291, the fall of Acre to the Muslims saw the Christians lose their last major stronghold in the Holy Land. The finger of blame for the

BRIDGEMAN/ALAMY



THE ORDER EARNED THE RESPECT OF ITS MUSLIM ENEMIES, NOT LEAST BECAUSE IT WAS FORBIDDEN FROM RETREATING IN BATTLE

VISIT

Temple Church

failure of the crusades began to point at the Knights Templar.

By the end of the 13th century, the wealth of the Templars had made them a sitting target, particularly in France where Philip IV was looking for ways to fill the royal coffers. Accusations of heresy against the order are first recorded in France, in 1307, with worshipping false idols, spitting and urinating on the cross, denying Christ at secret admission ceremonies, and sodomy appearing in a long list of alleged crimes.

Says Nicholson: "At dawn on Friday 13 October 1307, agents of Philip IV arrested large numbers of Knights Templars on charges of heresy, extracting confessions under torture where required. According to one contemporary source, 36 French Templars died under torture rather than confess and we have a long list of confessions from Templars admitting to most of the charges, but claiming that any denial of Christ had been with the lips and not with the heart. Pope Clement V, faced with a pile of confessions of heresy, was helpless in the face of Philip's determination. The trials went ahead and, in May 1310, 54 Templars were burned at the stake."

In England, Edward II faced a dilemma – he was married to Philip's daughter, Isabella.



Temple, London EC4Y 7DE
● templechurch.com

To refuse to follow Philip's lead and arrest English Templars would have been tantamount to a declaration of war on France – a war Edward could ill afford. In 1307, yielding to pressure, the English king gave the order for Templar arrests, and trials were held in 1309.

Alleged heresies

"Some Templars may have been tortured towards the end of the English trial, in June 1311," says Nicholson, "but the majority were allowed to reject all their alleged heresies and most were sent to do penance at various monasteries, with Edward keeping most of the land seized as a result of the arrests."

Temple Church was among those properties seized by Edward and was later given to another charitable order and rival to the Templars, the Knights Hospitaller. The Knights Templar itself was officially dissolved in 1312.

"Much of the suspicion against the Templars came from the secrecy and privacy that surrounded the order," says Nicholson. "When Philip IV, jealous of Templar wealth, began making accusations of heresy, no one could prove otherwise and so gossip and rumour prevailed."

Today's church, with its peaceful interior and air of quiet contemplation, is a far cry from its 12th-century heyday, but it remains a testament to the warrior monks who pledged their lives to the Knights Templar. **II**



Helen Nicholson (left) is professor of medieval history at Cardiff University. She has written widely on the crusades and the Knights Templar.
Words: Charlotte Hodgman

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR: FIVE MORE PLACES TO EXPLORE

1 Temple Bruer

NORTH KESTIVEN, LINCOLNSHIRE
Where a Templar community lived

Once attached to the chancel of a circular-naved Templar church, the 12th-century tower is all that remains of one of England's largest Templar estates, which may have included hospital and agricultural buildings and workshops. The community here disbanded in 1308 when its Templar knights were arrested and taken to Lincoln Castle. heritagelincolnshire.org

2 Temple Church

BRISTOL
Where the Templars had an HQ

Originally round in shape, Bristol's Temple Church was the administrative centre for Knights Templars in the south-west of England. The shell of the church, with its leaning 14th-century bell tower, can be visited but the interior is not open to visitors.
english-heritage.org.uk

3 Temple Manor

ROCHESTER, KENT
Where important guests stayed

Given to the Knights Templar by Henry II in 1159, Temple Manor, of which the two-storey stone hall remains, was probably used as a lodging for dignitaries travelling between Dover and London. Lying to the west of the river Medway, the house would have once stood in farmland, providing a substantial income to the order.
english-heritage.org.uk

4 Cressing Barns

BRAINTREE, ESSEX
Where an early Templar site remains

Cressing was one of the earliest Templar estates, given to the order in 1136. By 1185, it had become the largest such estate in Essex. Today, the site caters for weddings and events in its two 13th-century Templar-built barns.
cressingbarns.co.uk

5 Penhill Templars Preceptory

WEST WITTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE
Where Knights Hospitaller took over

Founded by English noble Roger de Mowbray in c1142, Penhill once comprised a range of Templar buildings that were given to the Knights Hospitaller in 1312. Today, the remains of the chapel can be seen, along with some graves.
pastscape.org.uk



A hunter slays his prey in this detail from the replica Norman baptismal font in Temple Church

BBC HISTORY
MAGAZINE

READER HOLIDAY OFFER

Experience an unforgettable three-day tour of Belgium's First World War battlefields with *BBC History Magazine* and Historical Trips. Attend daily lectures given by historians at Ypres' medieval Cloth Hall, and visit some of the iconic sites of the Great War, including Flanders Fields, the Menin Gate and Tyne Cot Cemetery

Itinerary

Day One

Morning: Depart UK

Meet in London and travel to Dover for our ferry crossing to Calais and coach journey to Ypres.

Afternoon: Flanders Fields and the Menin Gate

Following a visit to Flanders Fields, we return to our hotel for a drinks reception and dinner. After dinner, we walk to the Menin Gate to hear the town's fire brigade sound the *Last Post* in tribute to those who died here.

Day Two

Morning: Lectures at the Cloth Hall

BBC History Magazine presents three lectures given by historians.

Afternoon: Battlefield tour of western front sites

Travel to Essex Farm cemetery, where Dr John McRae, author of the poem *In Flanders Fields*, treated the wounded. We then visit Langemark German war cemetery, scene of the first gas attacks by the German army, followed by a trip to Tyne Cot cemetery, the largest cemetery on the western front.

Day Three

Morning: Lectures at the Cloth Hall

BBC History Magazine presents three lectures given by historians.

Afternoon: Talbot House and return

Visit Talbot House, Poperinge, which provided rest and relaxation to thousands of British soldiers between 1915 and 1918. Board the ferry for our return home.

Lecturers

Nigel Jones is a co-founder of Historical Trips and author of many works of 20th-century history, including *The War Walk: A Journey Along the Western Front* (2004).

Spencer Jones is an award-winning author and historian. His book *Courage Without Glory: The British Army on the Western Front 1915* (2015) was shortlisted for the 2016 British Army Book of the Year award.

Nick Lloyd is reader in military and imperial history at King's College London and author of a number of books, including *Hundred Days: The End of the Great War* (2013).

EXCLUSIVE TO BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE READERS:

Get a free copy of the special edition bookazine *The First World War Story*. To be eligible for your copy, please quote YPRES-17 when booking your tour.

Tours & Talks: A Weekend in Ypres

PRACTICALITIES

3 days | 5–7 May 2017

Price:

3* Novotel: £495 per person

(single supplement £75)

4* Hotel Ariane: £595 per person

(single supplement £80)

The tour price includes:

- 3* or 4* hotel accommodation in central Ypres
- Transport by air-conditioned coach
- Return ferry crossing: Dover to Calais
- Expert guide lecturers and tour manager
- Breakfast and dinner each day with drinks reception on Friday night
- Lectures, entrance fees and tips

HOW TO BOOK

● historicaltrips.com/ypres

☎ 01722 713820

In association with



www.historicaltrips.com

GETTY IMAGES

FIVE THINGS TO DO IN **JANUARY****Forgotten soldiers**

EXHIBITION / FREE ENTRY

Connected Histories: Muslims in the First World WarBirmingham Museum and Art Gallery
Until 5 March

☎ 0121 348 8000

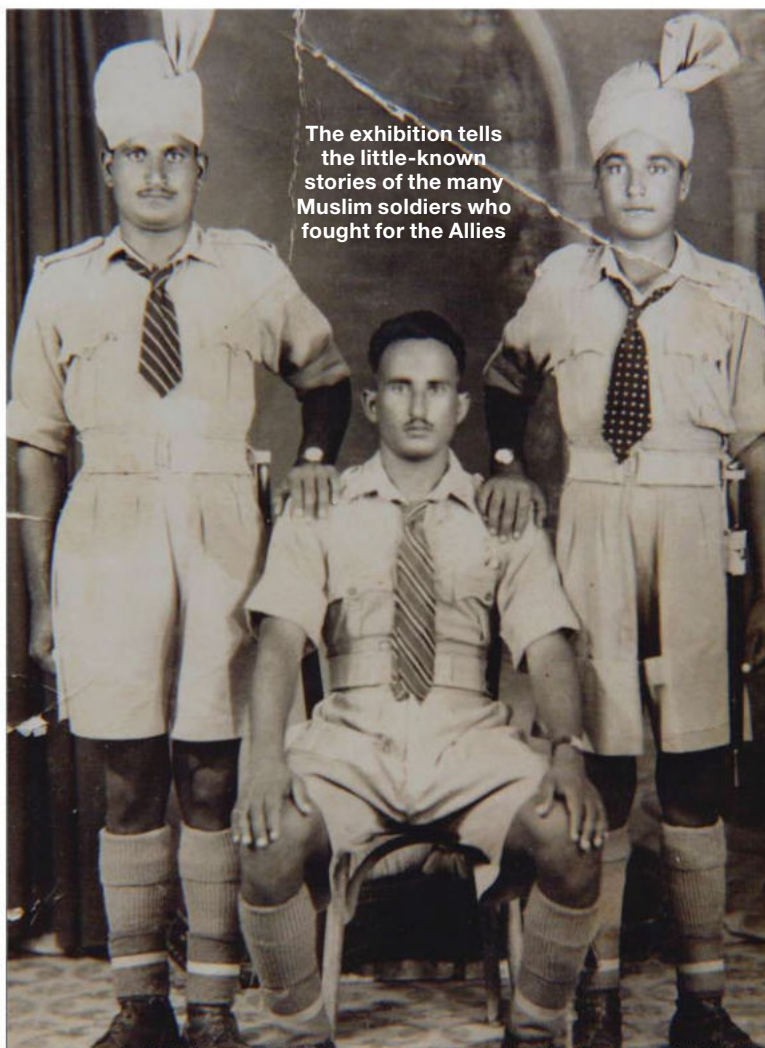
● birminghammuseums.org.uk

A staggering 885,000 Muslims supported the Allied cause during the First World War, recruited from far-flung parts of the British empire, including the Punjab, Bengal and Kashmir. Many served on the front line of some of the deadliest theatres of the war – from north and east Africa to the Middle East – with significant numbers from Bangladesh, Yemen and Somaliland serving in the British merchant navy.

The British Indian Army alone totalled around 1.4 million troops, of whom 430,000 were Muslim. But, despite their significant contribution to the Allied victory, surprisingly little is known about Muslim participation in the First World War.

An exhibition at Birmingham Museum, based on research by the Heritage Lottery Funded 'Connected Histories: Muslims in the First World War' project, is throwing new light onto this often forgotten group of men who risked their lives during the conflict.

Personal stories and memories contributed by Birmingham people whose relatives served in the First World War form part of the exhibition, together with objects and artefacts. To find out more about the project, and to see photographs and read some of the stories featured in the exhibition, visit connected-histories.org/ww1m



The exhibition tells the little-known stories of the many Muslim soldiers who fought for the Allies

EXHIBITION

The Allure of NapoleonThe Bowes Museum,
Co Durham

28 January–19 March

☎ 01833 690606

● thebowesmuseum.org.uk

A selection of artworks offers an insight into John and Joséphine Bowes' (the museum's founders) interest in Napoleon, in an exhibition that kicks off the Bowes Museum's 125th anniversary celebrations.

EXHIBITION

War in the Sunshine: The British in Italy 1917–1918Estorick Collection of
Modern Italian Art, London

13 January–19 March

☎ 020 7704 9522

● estorickcollection.com

The Estorick Collection reopens after a five-month refurbishment with an exhibition of 75 rarely shown artworks that reveal the role of British forces in Italy during the First World War. Works by war photographers WJ Brunell and Ernest Brooks are among those on show.

LECTURE / FREE ENTRY

Discovering the Ancient MayaTyndall Lecture Theatre,
University of Bristol

12 January

☎ 0117 922 3571

● bristolmuseums.org.uk/bristol-museum-and-art-gallery

Professor Norman Hammond of the University of Cambridge charts the discoveries of aspects of the Mayan civilisation throughout history – from Christopher Columbus's first encounter in the 15th century to the 19th-century documentation of Mayan cities and artefacts by Adela Breton and others.

LECTURE / FREE ENTRY

Black Tudor and Stuart SeafarersInstitute of Historical
Research, University of
London

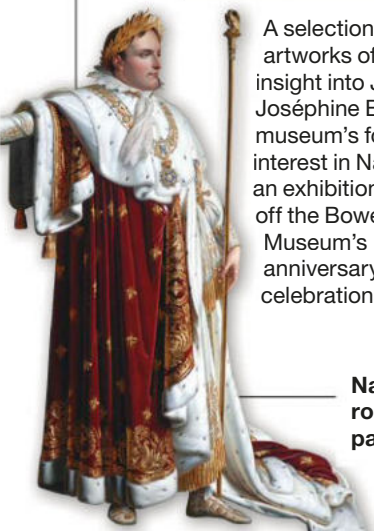
17 January

☎ 020 8312 6716

● mirandakaufmann.com/talks

Dr Miranda Kaufmann, senior research fellow at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, shares her new research into the lives of black Africans aboard Tudor and Stuart ships, revealing examples of African sailors, divers, translators, factors and circumnavigators, and exploring their lives.

Napoleon in his coronation robes, by Girodet c1812, part of the Bowes collection



MY FAVOURITE PLACE

New Orleans, Louisiana



by **Daniel Szechi**

Daniel enjoys the thrilling nightlife, vibrant music and spicy food of a city that's a melting pot of French, African and American heritage

I first visited New Orleans (known as the Big Easy) in 1990 when I was giving a paper at a historical conference there.

A gaggle of historians from my department in Auburn, Alabama were going too, so we all crammed into a hired minibus and drove to the Crescent City (another popular nickname for New Orleans) through the pine forests and bayous of southern Mississippi and Louisiana.

It was an extraordinary landscape, the like of which I had never seen outside gothic horror movies set in swamps. Spanish moss covering the trees, with muddy bayous the size of small rivers in the UK slowly flowing by, and a riot of wildlife, from alligators to gorgeously coloured birds. Truly an experience in itself, unforgettablely rounded off by driving into New Orleans across the elevated highway over the mouth of Lake Pontchartrain where the Mississippi river meets the sea.

The architecture of the city is an exuberant fusion of styles and cultures. It was founded by the French, given away to the Spanish, retrieved by the French and finally sold to the US in 1803. Until the mid-19th century it was predominantly French-speak-

ing, and Cajun French is still spoken in some of the communities west of the city.

The city has been devastated many times by hurricanes roaring in off the Gulf of Mexico and massive floods that overtop the dykes that hold back the Mississippi. This means that in terms of its buildings the city is a delightful hotchpotch of survivors of all these cataclysms (a testament to the resilience of its people). The colonial French style runs through everything from street names to the New Orleanian fondness for balconies with ornate wrought-iron railings and decorations.

There is so much to see and do in the city that it is hard to know where to start. Perhaps with a word of caution. There are many things children will love to do in New Orleans: paddle steamer cruises on the Mississippi, the Aquarium of the Americas,

feeding time at an alligator farm and so on, but adults will get the most out of New Orleans.

You do have to like the louche, and appreciate the way New Orleans is a dynamic city, with grimy and worn buildings sitting cheek-by-jowl alongside their elegantly new and restored neighbours. For those who want to experience a little decadence on their holidays, New Orleans is amazing and unforgettable (there is even a Southern Decadence festival held there).

Just walking down Bourbon Street and its parallel thoroughfares is a cascade of sensations. Those who like exotic dancers will certainly find them here and the bars concerned are not shy about promising all kinds of delights. More to my taste were the jazz and zydeco bars and the wonderful restaurants that you can find everywhere throughout the French Quarter. Every form of jazz (trad, swing, modern) has multiple venues where amazingly talented musicians play virtually all night every night.



R&B legend Fats Domino, who was born in the city, performs in New Orleans in 1977. The Big Easy remains a vibrant place for music lovers



The vibrant French Quarter of New Orleans is the city's oldest neighbourhood, with a range of interesting architectural styles

And the cuisine is as varied. Restaurants serving Cajun, creole and soulfood (the latter originates from the food prepared by enslaved Africans) jostle each other up and down almost every street. Even the smallest bar will often have a range of tasty local dishes. I knew I was somewhere unique when I went into a diner close by the conference hotel and was matter-of-factly served a superb homemade shrimp étouffée for breakfast.

Long nights eating wonderful food and listening to jazz into

ALAMY/GETTY



“For those who want to experience a little decadence on their holidays, New Orleans is amazing and unforgettable

the wee small hours do tend to produce late starts, but the city is geared up for it, and there are some fascinating places to visit while recovering enough to enjoy another evening. My personal favourites are the gorgeous colonial-era Saint Louis Cathedral in the French quarter, Louisiana's Civil War

Museum and a visit by paddle boat to the site of the battle of New Orleans (where in 1815 future president Andrew Jackson and the pirate Jean Lafitte defeated a British army bent on conquering the city).

But there are many other choices: the tomb of Marie Laveau, the famous 19th-century Voodoo priestess, with its attendant, constant celebration of her works; beignet (a type of pastry) and café au lait at the Café du Monde; shopping and sampling in the French market

where the muffulettas (huge sandwiches averaging thousands of calories) are to die for. I will be back there next spring and I cannot wait! 

Daniel Szechi is about to retire as professor in history, University of Manchester. He is currently setting up a historical consultancy business

Read more of Daniel's experiences at historyextra.com/NewOrleans

Next month: Roy and Lesley Adkins explore Gibraltar

Been there...

Have you been to **New Orleans**? Do you have a top tip for readers? Contact us via Twitter or Facebook

 twitter.com/historyextra

 facebook.com/historyextra

ADVICE FOR TRAVELLERS

BEST TIME TO GO

New Orleans can be cold in the winter and in the summer the heat and mosquitos are daunting. The best times are spring and autumn. Spring has the attraction of Mardi Gras, when fantastically costumed locals exuberantly parade their home-made floats through the French Quarter. It gets very crowded then and prices are at their peak, so I prefer autumn, when the heat is diminishing and the crowds are thinner.

GETTING THERE

Drive from Atlanta or Nashville over a couple of days at least – a great way to see the southern US. Or fly into an international hub such as Atlanta for a domestic flight to New Orleans. Stay in the French Quarter or close by.

WHAT TO PACK

Light clothing (possibly with elasticated waistband...) and an umbrella (when it rains it is tropical in intensity). In winter take warmer clothing.

TO BRING BACK

Tony Chachere's Creole Seasoning and traditional-Mardi Gras masks.

READERS' VIEWS

You will never want to leave this magical place
Victorah Hall-Artist

You can't beat the French Quarter for great architecture and food
@tallguy_andy

You must go to Marie Laveau's House of Voodoo
Gwen Nugent



AUCTIONS



INTERNATIONAL
AUTOGRAPH
AUCTIONS LTD

EUROPE'S LEADING SPECIALIST AUTOGRAPH AUCTION HOUSE



DO YOU HAVE AUTOGRAPH COLLECTIONS TO SELL?

Europe's premier specialist autograph auctioneers can help you achieve the highest prices for your autographs, signed photographs, letters and documents of famous people.

We specialise in the sale by auction of autograph collections, both small and large, and can offer you expert advice.



For a free valuation please email info@autographauctions.co.uk or contact Richard Davie - **0115 845 1010**
Visit our website at www.autographauctions.co.uk for auction updates

PUBLISHERS

LOOKING TO BE PUBLISHED?

SUBMISSIONS AND
SAMPLES WELCOMED.
ALL WORK CONSIDERED.
NO AGENT REQUIRED.
AUSTIN MACAULEY
PUBLISHERS LTD.
CGC-33-01, 25 Canada Square
Canary Wharf, London, E14 5LQ
Tel: 0207 038 8212
www.austinmacauley.com
mail@austinmacauley.com

SHOES

Stylish Wide Fitting Shoes

We offer you the
complete **DBeasy b**
range of quality wide
fitting footwear
available for men and
women in **EE, 4E, 6E**
and **8E** width fittings.

for your **FREE**
196 page catalogue call
01933 311 077 or visit
www.widerfitshoes.co.uk



*Excluding
Postage & Packing.
Not valid with any
other promotion

10%
OFF your order*
QUOTE
HIX1701M

FREE RETURN SERVICE for all UK orders

FURNITURE



IAN EDWARDS
OF HARROGATE Est. 1970

Tel: **01423 500442**
for sales/enquiries or **FREE** brochure call - **01423 500442**
www.iansbespokefurniture.co.uk



Handmade Bespoke Furniture
for CD's • LP's • DVD's & Books

The Old Chapel, 282 Skipton Road,
Harrogate, Yorkshire HG1 3HE

GENEALOGY

ANCESTORS

Discover Your Ancestors

Let our professional
genealogists trace your
family history nationally
and internationally

Money back guarantee

For the best, most
economical services
write to:
Ancestorsgenealogy.co.uk

11 Crosbie Road,
Harborne, Birmingham
B17 9BG
(BHM)

0121 2464260

BAGS

My Leather Manbag

Whether you are giving a present or just
treating yourself, have a look at our extensive
range of leather bags.

The Crazy Mustang Range of
Leather Bags at £119

Take
20% off



- Beautifully made luxury leather bags
- Exceptional service & fantastic value
- Briefcases, Travel Bags, Tablet Covers, Laptop Bags, Messenger Bags, Wallets and more...
- Manbags are good for girls too!

Please use code **HTY20** at checkout
for 20% discount on all bags!
Free delivery and returns

myleathermanbag.com 0333 1234 104

BOOKS



**Richard Booth's
Bookshop**

Buying and Selling Books on all Subjects

BOOKS BOUGHT

Single Volumes of Interest,
Special Collections and Entire Libraries

44 Lion Street,
Hay on Wye, HR3 5AA

The Town of Books

books@boothbooks.co.uk

Tel: **01497 820322**

www.boothbooks.co.uk

HEATING

Be in control of your heating bills with our energy-efficient...

Cost-saving German Engineered Electric Radiators!

FREE SURVEY
in the comfort of
your home!



A better
product for a
better price!



Built-in electronic
thermostat or user friendly
wireless thermostat available

- 24/7 heat control- digital control thermostat
- Unique patented ceramic heat tablets that store and release heat for longer
- High fin design - 6X the surface area of a normal radiator for SUPERIOR HEAT COVERAGE
- Maintenance free streamline 70mm design - slimmest on the market
- Full installation service which includes removing and disposing of the old heating where required
- A premium German product, sold and installed by friendly, qualified British people



All shapes
and sizes
of radiators
available



"I am very pleased with the smart and easy to control electric radiators I purchased. The whole service was excellent from the initial appointment to the fitting, which was very quick without any mess, including the removal of my old storage heaters."
Fiona Keeping, Milton Keynes

Technik Heat UK Ltd, 77 Alston Drive, Bradwell Abbey Industrial Estate, Milton Keynes, MK13 9HG

Save Energy and £££'s - Request a FREE Home Survey today

To request your **FREE Catalogue** and receive details of our **FREE Home Survey** simply complete your details below, cut out and pop into an envelope with this address: **FREEPOST TECHNIK HEAT UK.**

BBH0301

Name: _____

Address: _____

Postcode: _____

Your Telephone or Mobile Number

Technikheatuk
GERMAN ELECTRIC HEATING

(Your telephone number is essential as one of our friendly advisors will contact you prior to any home visit you may wish to arrange.)

For a FREE Catalogue and to arrange a No-Obligation FREE Home Survey...

Call 0800 434 6462 or 01908 566 855
Quoting BBH0301 or visit www.technikheatuk.co.uk
Or alternatively complete and return the FREEPOST coupon opposite.

PUBLISHERS

WHY NOT BE A WRITER?

As a freelance writer, you can earn very good money in your spare time, writing the stories, articles, books, scripts etc that editors and publishers want. Millions of pounds are paid annually in fees and royalties. Earning your share can be fun, profitable and creatively most fulfilling.

To help you become a successful writer we offer you a first-class, home-study course from professional writers – with individual guidance from expert tutors and flexible tuition tailored to your own requirements. You are shown how to make the most of your abilities, where to find ideas, how to turn them into publishable writing and how to sell them. In short, we show you exactly how to become a published writer. **If you want writing success – this is the way to start!**

Whatever your writing ambitions, we can help you to achieve them. For we give you an effective,

stimulating and most enjoyable creative writing course... appreciated by students and acclaimed by experts.

It's ideal for beginners. No previous experience or special background is required. You write and study at your own pace – you do not have to rush. **Many others have been successful this way.** If they can do it – why can't you?

We are so confident that we can help you become a published writer that we give you a **full refund guarantee**. If you have not earned your course fees from published writing by the time you finish the course, we will refund them in full.

If you want to be a writer start by requesting a free copy of our prospectus 'Write and be Published'. Please call our freephone number or visit our website NOW!

- | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| COURSE FEATURES | • ADVISORY SERVICE | • HOW TO PRESENT YOUR WORK |
| • 27 FACT PACKED MODULES | • TUTORIAL SUPPORT | • HOW TO SELL YOUR WRITING |
| • 2 SPECIALIST SUPPLEMENTS | • FLEXIBLE STUDY PROGRAMME | • 15 DAY TRIAL PERIOD |
| • 20 WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS | • STUDENT COMMUNITY AREA | • FULL REFUND GUARANTEE |

Get Your FREE PROSPECTUS Today!

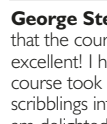
www.writersbureau.com

FREEPHONE 24 HOURS Quote: 1B1216

0800 856 2008



Rachel Dove "I won the 2015 Flirty Fiction Prima Magazine and Mills and Boon competition. The prize was **£500**, and the chance to work with Mills and Boon on my book which came out in April 2016.
"Also I have three stories in three anthologies with other authors – we've raised almost **£2,000** for cancer charities."



George Stewart "I am delighted to tell everyone that the course is everything it says on the tin, excellent! I have wanted to write for years, and this course took me by the hand and helped me turn my scribbles into something much more professional. I am delighted that my **writing is being published and I am actually being paid**. All thanks to the Comprehensive Creative Writing course."



Alice Vinten "I started a Writers Bureau course just over a year ago. I have now had four non-fiction books traditionally published and found myself the perfect agent who will be helping me get my fiction out there soon! Thanks very much Writers Bureau!"

YES! Please send me free details on how to become a successful, freelance writer.

NAME

ADDRESS

POST CODE

EMAIL

Freepost RSSK-JZAC-JCJG

The Writers Bureau

Dept 1B1216

Manchester, M3 1LE

www.facebook.com/thewritersbureau

www.twitter.com/writersbureau

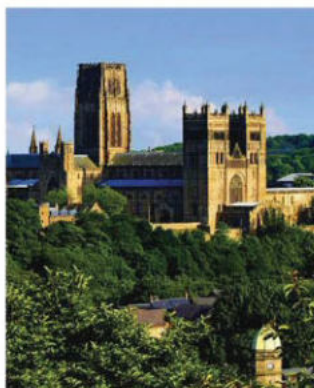
email: 17W1@writersbureau.com Please include your name and address



Members of BILD and ABCC

CHAPELS & CATHEDRALS

DURHAM CATHEDRAL



Durham Cathedral is one of the finest examples of Romanesque architecture in Europe. Explore this magnificent Cathedral and its new world class exhibition experience, Open Treasure, located in the most intact surviving medieval monastic building in the UK. Journey through these historic spaces as the remarkable story of Durham Cathedral and its incredible collections are revealed through temporary and permanent exhibitions.

0191 386 4266
www.durhamcathedral.co.uk

ROSSLYN CHAPEL



Rosslyn Chapel was founded in 1446. The beauty of its setting and the mysterious symbolism of its ornate stonework have inspired, attracted and intrigued visitors for generations. The visitor centre tells the chapel's story – from its 15th century origins to the Da Vinci Code and beyond. The chapel is seven miles from Edinburgh, with good transport links from the city. Open all year. Guides provide free talks throughout the day.

0131 440 2159
www.rosslynchapel.com

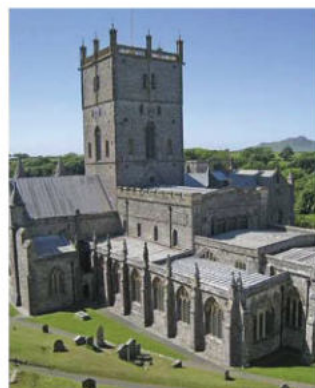
WORCESTER CATHEDRAL



Rising majestically above the River Severn, Worcester Cathedral is one of England's most captivating historic buildings. The spectacular internal vista, tombs of the infamous King John, who sealed Magna Carta, and of Prince Arthur the lost Tudor King, along with the tranquil Norman Crypt, early 12th Century round Chapter house and splendid Victorian stained glass make a visit truly memorable.

01905 732 900
www.worcestercathedral.co.uk

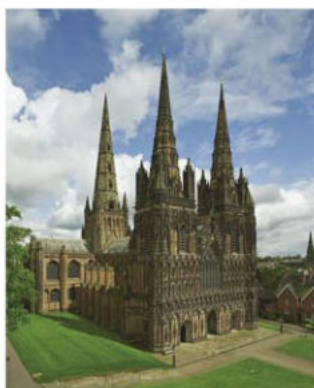
ST. DAVIDS CATHEDRAL



Come and visit this stunning cathedral and the newly restored Shrine of St David. Open: Monday to Saturday 8.30am – 5.00pm & Sunday 1.00pm – 5.00pm. Daily services, Bookshop, Concerts, Guided tours, Refectory & Cloister Gallery, Porth y Twr Exhibition, Treasury, Disabled Access.

01437 720 202
www.stdavidscathedral.org.uk

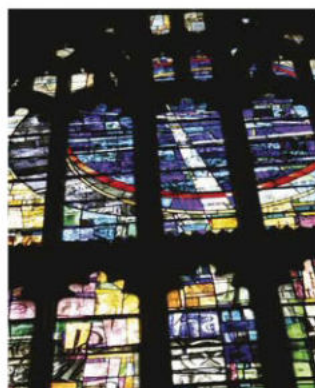
LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL



Lichfield Cathedral is the only medieval Cathedral with three spires in England and is among the oldest centres of Christian Worship in Britain. Don't miss the medieval wall paintings, Herkenrode stained glass, Lichfield Gospels (c.730AD) or the Staffordshire Hoard collection. From mid-April to early-June 2017 the Cathedral welcomes a new exhibition of J.M.W. Turner, including a watercolour of the Cathedral.

01543 306 100
www.lichfield-cathedral.org

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL



The collegiate church of St Mary, St Denys & St George was founded in 1421 and made a cathedral in 1847. Visitors can enjoy the Cathedral's beautiful medieval quire, stunning stained glass, and world-class choral music in the heart of Manchester's medieval quarter.

Admission free. Mon-Sun, 8:30-18:30 (17:30 on Mondays and Fridays)

0161 833 2220
www.manchestercathedral.org



QUIZ

BY JULIAN HUMPHRYS

Try your hand at this month's history quiz

ONLINE
QUIZZES
historyextra.com
/quiz

1. How did 16th-century polymath, astrologer and international man of mystery John Dee sign his letters to Elizabeth I?

2. What links Harry Fetherstonhaugh, Charles Greville and Horatio Nelson?

3. How did James II of Scotland meet his death at Roxburgh in 1460?

4. What was Force Z and what happened to it on 10 December 1941?

5. How did archaeologist Gertrude Caton-Thompson upset many of the white population of Rhodesia in 1929?

6. Whose tomb is this?



QUIZ ANSWERS

1. 007. **2.** They were all lovers of Emma Hamilton. **3.** He was killed when the cannon he was standing by exploded. **4.** It was a British naval squadron. It was attacked by Japanese aircraft, and two ships, the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*, were sunk. **5.** By concluding that the ruined city of 'Great Zimbabwe' had been built by native Africans. **6.** King John's, in Worcester Cathedral.

GOT A QUESTION?

Write to *BBC History Magazine*, Tower House, Fairfax Street, Bristol BS1 3BN. Email: historymagazine@historyextra.com or submit via our website: historyextra.com

Q Apparently Elizabeth I's court actually had a flushing lavatory. What would it, and bathroom facilities in general, have been like at that time?

Steven Lower, by email

A Elizabeth did indeed have Britain's first flushing toilet – thanks to her godson, Sir John Harington, who invented the prototype of the water closet. It carried waste away, rather than letting it fall into a pit beneath, so was more hygienic and less malodorous than the traditional close stool.

Elizabeth's most sumptuous bathroom was at Whitehall Palace, her chief London residence, which contained a large bath and an elaborate water feature where "the water pours from oyster shells and different kinds of rock". The queen certainly liked to luxuriate in her bath – which like most of its type was a round wooden tub lined with linen to prevent splinters

– because next to the bathroom was a room containing an organ so that she could be serenaded while she bathed.

Even with such luxuries, however, Elizabeth only chose to bathe once a month "whether she needed it or not", as she herself declared. On the whole, the queen and her courtiers avoided washing and bathing more frequently because it was believed to be bad for the health: opening up the pores made them vulnerable to infection. Instead, if you were rich enough in Tudor times you would have your linen underwear changed and washed two or three times a day to keep yourself sweet-smelling (it works, apparently).

The vast majority of Elizabeth's subjects would not have a separate bathroom. Rather, their wooden tub would be brought into the main living area – usually in front of the fire.

Sanitation was generally poor in the 16th century and most courtiers had to make do with communal toilets, such as the Great House of Easement at Hampton Court, which boasted an impressive 28 seats. This comprised a series of long benches with holes cut out. The waste would fall into a pit below, and it was the job of the 'gong scourer' to shovel it out on a regular basis, working by the light of a candle.

Tracy Borman's latest book is *The Private Lives of the Tudors* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2016)

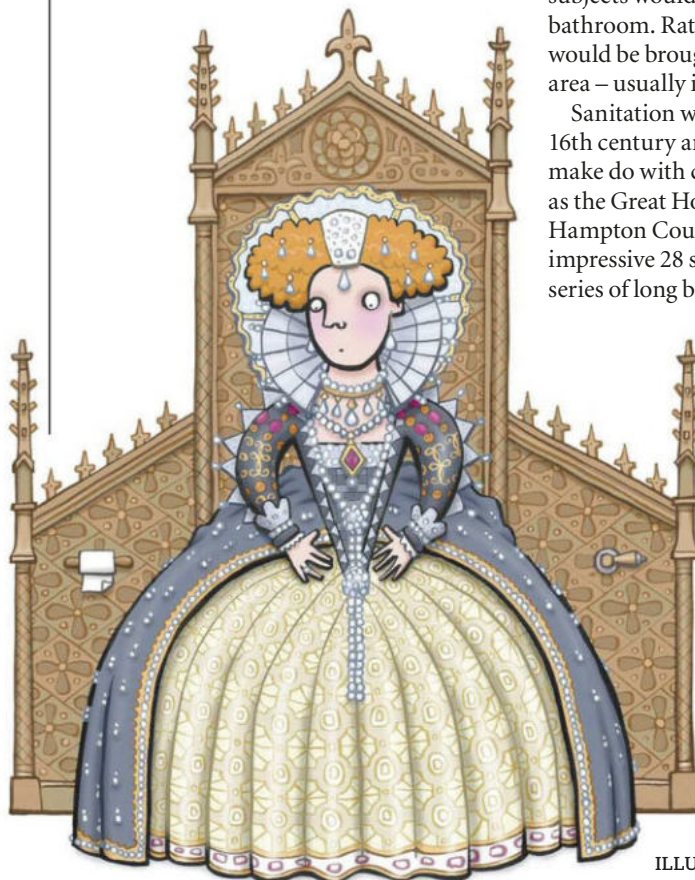


ILLUSTRATION BY GLEN MCBETH

SAMANTHA'S RECIPE CORNER



Every issue, picture editor **Samantha Nott** brings you a recipe from the past. This month it's a 110-year-old cocktail hailing from New York's Waldorf-Astoria

Bronx cocktail

What better way to welcome in 2017 than with a drink – particularly as the coming year marks the centenary of the first recorded instance of a cocktail party. Reportedly held by Mrs Julius S Walsh Jr of St Louis, Missouri in May 1917, the afternoon event was held at her mansion “equipped with private bar”, from which several fashionable concoctions were served. Among them was this beverage, said to have been invented in 1906 by a bartender at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, with the name inspired by a recent visit he had made to Bronx zoo.

Whatever its provenance, it was still proving popular decades after Mrs Walsh's party, ranking third in a 1934 guide to ‘The World's 10 Most Famous Cocktails’. While not the most complex recipe ever to have graced this page, it nonetheless still proved a hit in the *BBC History Magazine* office.

INGREDIENTS

Six parts gin
Two parts dry vermouth
Three parts sweet red vermouth
Three parts orange juice

METHOD

Pour the ingredients into a cocktail shaker, together with ice cubes. Shake well and strain. Serve in a chilled cocktail or martini glass, garnished with orange zest or a maraschino cherry. As with all cocktails, there are plenty of variants: some add an egg yolk to create a Golden Bronx, or the juice of a blood orange to create, inevitably, a Bloody Bronx.

VERDICT

“The perfect winter-warmer”

Difficulty: 1/10

Time: 10 minutes

Based on a recipe from Difford's Guide for Discerning Drinkers: diffordsguide.com/cocktails/recipe/325/bronx-1-original

**Classic drink:
the zoo-inspired
Bronx cocktail**



A guinea's value used to fluctuate but in 1717 its value was fixed. This one is from the reign of George II, 1727–60

Q Why did the old British imperial currency include the odd value of a guinea (one pound and one shilling)? What financial purpose did it serve?

O Adamberry, Gibraltar

A The guinea was a gold coin first issued in 1663 during the reign of Charles II, initially carrying a face value of 20 shillings.

It was worth a pound in the pre-decimal currency system in which there were 12 pennies in a shilling, 20 shillings in a pound and therefore 240 pennies in a pound.

During the 17th century Britain had a circulating coinage made of silver and gold, and the face value of these coins was related to the amount of precious metal they contained. Changes in the value of precious metals over time would therefore lead to changes in the weight or diameter of coins and sometimes the actual face value of a coin would be changed.

In the late 17th century, instability of the currency led to the face value of the guinea increasing significantly. At one point in the 1690s it rose to as much as 30 shillings but it dropped back down again.

In 1717, on the recommendation of Sir Isaac Newton, the then master of the mint, it was set at 21 shillings, or one pound and one shilling. The coin then remained fixed at this value until currency reforms in 1816.

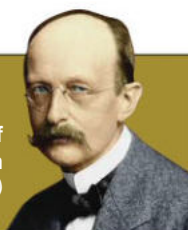
Through usage and familiarity the face value of the guinea at 21 shillings came to be readily accepted. The seemingly awkward value of the coin did not hinder the currency purposes it served and its popularity led to its being produced in huge numbers up to the last issue in 1813.

Affection for the guinea embedded itself so firmly in the culture of Britain that, long after it ceased to be made, professional fees continued to be charged to the value of a guinea and certain horse races are still named after this famous gold coin.

Dr Kevin Clancy, director of the Royal Mint Museum royalmintmuseum.org.uk

PRIZE CROSSWORD

Who was the originator of the theory of quantum mechanics (see 3 down)



CROSSWORD PRIZE

Book worth **£20** for 5 winners



Blitzed: Drugs in Nazi Germany by Norman Ohler

This book explores how the Third Reich was permeated with drugs, from cocaine to crystal meth, used by everyone from troops to Hitler's entourage, who took refuge in cocktails of stimulants as the war turned against them. A rarely told aspect of the story of the Second World War.

Published by Penguin, RRP £20

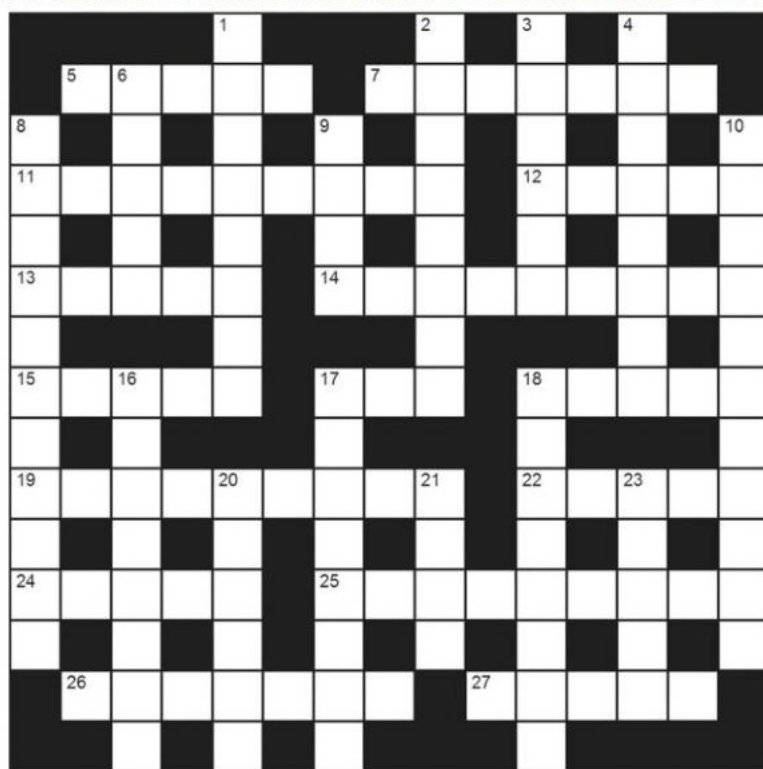
HOW TO ENTER Open to residents of the UK, (inc. Channel Islands). Post entries to **BBC History Magazine, January 2017 Crossword, PO Box 501, Leicester LE94 0AA** or email them to **january2017@historycomps.co.uk** by **5pm on 30 January 2017**. Entrants must supply full name, address and phone number. The winners will be the first correct entries drawn at random after the closing time. Winners' names will appear in the March 2017 issue. By entering, participants agree to be bound by the terms and conditions shown in full in the box below. Immediate Media Company (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) will use personal details in accordance with the Immediate Privacy Policy at immediatemediaco.uk/privacy-policy/privacy/. Immediate Media Company Limited (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) would love to send you newsletters, together with special offers, and other promotions. If you would not like to receive these please write 'NO INFO' on your entry. Branded BBC titles are licensed from or published jointly with BBC Worldwide (the commercial arm of the BBC). Please tick here ☐ if you'd like to receive regular newsletters, special offers and promotions from BBC Worldwide by email. Your information will be handled in accordance with the BBC Worldwide privacy policy: bbcworldwide.com/privacy

Across

- 5** Village of the Somme, recaptured from the Germans by British forces on 18 September 1918, a small-scale but morale-boosting victory (5)
7 Matthew, British manufacturer who teamed up with James Watt (7)
11 An ancient Greek fortified stronghold or citadel, the most famous being at Athens (9)
12 Ancient NE African region on both sides of the Nile, with Kush at its southern end (5)
13 (Old name of) Adriatic island giving its name to two naval battles fought in 1811 and 1866 (5)
14 Double-breasted, full-skirted, male garment, popular in Victorian and Edwardian times (5-4)
15 Macedonian town, near lake of the same name, called Lychnidos in classical times (5)
17 Formed in 1938 to recruit women for air raid service, it became 'Royal' in 1966 (3)
18 Peninsula occupied by Israel after the Six-Day War of 1967 (5)
19 Newgate prison was the original site of this famous London building (3,6)
22 The author of *The Compleat Angler*, ___ Walton (5)
24 Term applied to system of Soviet labour camps associated with Stalin's regime (5)
25 16th-century chronicler whose work is thought to be the basis of some of Shakespeare's plays (9)
26 Joseph-Francois, governor-general of French India, rival to Robert Clive (7)
27 One of two legendary leaders of the first Anglo-Saxon settlers in Britain (5)

Down

- 1** David, the England test cricketer who became bishop of Liverpool (8)
2 Town in Picardy, captured by the king of the Franks, Clovis I, in 486 (8)
3 Nobel Prize-winning German physicist, an originator of the theory of quantum mechanics (6)
4 Old Spanish/Spanish-American 32-real gold coin (8)



- 6** The treaty of which, in 1783, concluded the American Revolutionary War (5)
8 The first duke of which, John Churchill, had famous victories over Louis XIV's France (11)
9 The last Norwegian king of this name died in 1387 (4)
10 William, the (unsuccessful) pirate hunter who became a legendary pirate himself (7,4)
16 Native American chief who successfully resisted the Bozeman Trail development to the newly discovered Montana goldfields (3,5)
17 Two-term UN Secretary-General, later embroiled in controversy about his past service in the Wehrmacht (8)
18 Site of a victory, in January 1900, for the Boers, thwarting British preparations to relieve Ladysmith (5,3)
20 The earls and, later, dukes, of ___ have been the titular heads of the Highland Scottish clan Campbell since 1445 (6)
21 Famous university, named after its British benefactor, Elihu, a merchant and philanthropist (4)
23 Greek 'holy mountain', location of a semi-autonomous monastic community, a World Heritage Site since 1988 (5)

Compiled by **Eddie James**

SOLUTION TO OUR DECEMBER CROSSWORD

Across: 1 St Alban 5 Treves 10 Hannibal 11 Bomber 12 Simnel 13 Vanbrugh 14/16 Havelok the Dane 18 Newport 20 Braemar 23 Beer hall 25 Dachau 27 Whites 28 Rothesay 29 Mosley 30 Skylon
Down: 2 Tsarina 3 Lenin 4 A J Balfour 6 Rabin 7 Vimy Ridge 8 Sten gun 9 Slovo 15 Euphrates 17 Herodotus 19 Evesham 21 Arapaho 22 Uluru 24 Aisne 26 Crécy

5 WINNERS OF CRUSOE'S ISLAND

D Good, Derbyshire; P Fisher, Cheshire; J Renshaw, Surrey; C Rowe, Devon; B Derbyshire, Cheshire

CROSSWORD COMPETITION TERMS & CONDITIONS

- The crossword competition is open to all residents of the UK (inc. Channel Islands), aged 18 or over, except Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited employees or contractors, and anyone connected with the competition or their direct family members. By entering participants agree to be bound by these terms and conditions and that their name and county may be released if they win. Only one entry permitted per person.
- The closing date and time is as shown under How to Enter, above. Entries received after that will not be considered. Entries cannot be returned. Entrants must supply full name, address and daytime phone number. Immediate Media Company (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) will not publish your personal details or provide them to anyone without permission. Read more about the Immediate Privacy Policy at immediatemediaco.uk/privacy-policy/
- The winning entrants will be the first correct entries drawn at random after the closing time. The prize and number of winners will be as shown on the Crossword page. There is no cash alternative and the prize will not be transferable. Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited's decision is final and no correspondence relating to the competition will be entered into. The winners will be notified by post within 20 days of the close of the competition. The name and county of residence of the winners will be published in the magazine within two months of the closing date. If the winner is unable to be contacted within one month of the closing date, Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited reserves the right to offer the prize to a runner-up.
- Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited reserves the right to amend these terms and conditions or to cancel, alter or amend the promotion at any stage, if deemed necessary in its opinion, or if circumstances arise outside of its control. The promotion is subject to the laws of England.



A collage of several red, torn-edge tags with the word 'SALE' in white, bold, sans-serif capital letters. The tags are scattered across the top half of the image. Below the tags, the words 'JANUARY SALE' are written in large, white, bold, sans-serif capital letters with a red outline. The background is a light beige color with a subtle, repeating pattern of the word 'SALE' in a very light, faded font.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FROM JUST £1



5 ISSUES FOR £5

**5 ISSUES FOR £5****5 ISSUES FOR £5**

- Subscriptions starting from **just £1***
- Continue to make **great savings** after your trial period

- Enjoy easy and convenient **delivery direct to your door**
- **Never miss an issue** of your favourite magazine

2 EASY WAYS TO ORDER

Visit **www.buysubscriptions.com/januarysale**
and enter promotional code **JS17SP**

Call **01795 414 746[†]**
quote code **JS17SP**

See more great magazines online...



*This offer closes on 12th February 2017 and is valid for UK delivery addresses and by direct debit only. The discounts shown are savings calculated as a percentage of the full shop price, excluding Radio Times which is calculated as a percentage of the Basic Annual Rate. For overseas rates visit www.buysubscriptions.com or call 01795 414 746. Should the magazine ordered change in frequency, we will honour the number of issues and not the term of the subscription. You are free to cancel your subscription at any time - if you cancel within 2 weeks of receiving your penultimate issue you will pay no more than the trial rate, this is with the exception of Radio Times and Match of the Day, which you will need to cancel 3 weeks before the trial is due to end. Radio Times subscriptions are for 26 weekly issues (6 months) and Match of the Day subscriptions are for 3 months. The Basic Annual UK Subscription Rate of Radio Times is £131. This price is for 51 issues, which includes the Christmas double issue and a contribution towards postage. We reserve the right to limit the number of consecutive short term trial subscriptions a customer signs up for if their subscription is repeatedly cancelled during the trial. *Calls to the number above will be charged at your local rate, calls from mobiles may vary. Lines open Mon to Fri 8am - 8pm and Sat 9am - 1pm.

EDITORIAL

Editor Rob Attar robertattar@historyextra.com

Deputy editor Charlotte Hodgman

Acting deputy editor Sue Wingrove

Reviews editor Matt Elton mattelton@historyextra.com

Production editor Spencer Mizen

Picture editor Samantha Nott samnott@historyextra.com

Art editor Susanne Frank

Deputy art editors Rachel Dickens, Rosemary Smith, Sarah Lambert

Picture researcher Katherine Hallett

Digital editor Emma Mason emmamason@historyextra.com

Website assistant Ellie Cawthorne

**IMMEDIATE
MEDIA^{CO}**

Vol 18 No 1 – January 2017

BBC History Magazine is published by Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited under licence from BBC Worldwide who help fund new BBC programmes.

BBC History Magazine was established to publish authoritative history, written by leading experts, in an accessible and attractive format. We seek to maintain the high journalistic standards traditionally associated with the BBC.

ADVERTISING & MARKETING

Advertising manager

Sam Jones 0117 300 8145

Sam.Jones@immediate.co.uk

Brand sales executives

Sam Evanson 0117 314 8754

Sam.Evanson@immediate.co.uk

Kate Chetwynd 0117 300 8532

Kate.Chetwynd@immediate.co.uk

Classified sales executive

George Bent 0117 300 8542

George.Bent@immediate.co.uk

Group direct marketing manager

Laurence Robertson 00353 5787 57444

Subscriptions director Jacky Perales-Morris

Senior direct marketing executive

Natalie Lawrence

US representative Kate Buckley

buckley@buckleypell.com

PRESS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

Press officer Dominic Lobley 020 7150 5015

dominic.lobley@immediate.co.uk

SYNDICATION

Director of licensing & syndication

Tim Hudson

International partners' manager

Anna Brown

PRODUCTION

Production director Sarah Powell

Production co-ordinator Emily Mounter

Ad co-ordinator Jade O'Halloran

Ad designer James Croft

IMMEDIATE MEDIA COMPANY

Publisher David Musgrove

Publishing director Andy Healy

Managing director Andy Marshall

CEO Tom Bureau

Deputy chairman Peter Phippen

Chairman Stephen Alexander

BBC WORLDWIDE

Director of editorial governance

Nicholas Brett

Director of consumer products and

publishing Andrew Moultrie

Head of UK publishing Chris Kerwin

Publisher Mandy Thwaites

Publishing co-ordinator Eva Abramik

UK.Publishing@bbc.com

www.bbcworldwide.com/uk--anz/

ukpublishing.aspx



Jan-Dec
2015
97,527



July 2015-
June 2016
333,000



NEXT MONTH

FEBRUARY ISSUE ON SALE 31 JANUARY 2017

Oliver Cromwell's remarkable rise

Martyn Bennett reveals how a middle-ranking MP was transformed into a military leader



George Eliot's hand >

Kathryn Hughes highlights some unusual stories about the bodies of prominent Victorians



The greatest queen

Giles Tremlett on the astonishing talents of Isabella of Castile



< Holocaust in court

As a new film version of the David Irving trial is released, Richard J Evans reflects on the affair



"I admire the extraordinary imagination, energy and determination that enabled her not just to overcome her circumstances, but to become one of the country's most eminent palaeontologists"

Actor Jenny Agutter chooses

Mary Anning

1799-1847

Mary Anning was a renowned fossil collector and palaeontologist. Born in Lyme Regis in humble circumstances, she made a number of important finds along the Jurassic Coast in Dorset, including ichthyosaur, plesiosaur and pterosaur skeletons. Despite becoming well known in geological circles, as a woman she was barred from joining the Geological Society of London, and struggled financially all her life. In 2010, the Royal Society included her in a list of the 10 most influential British women in the history of science. She was also said to have inspired the tongue-twister: 'She sells sea-shells on the sea-shore.'

When did you first hear about Mary Anning?

Several years ago, a friend who is a film director gave me her script about Mary Anning, to see if I might want to be involved in making a film about her. I was intrigued because, like many people, I knew next to nothing about this woman who was part-artist, part-scientist. But the more I read up about Mary, the more admirable I found her.

What kind of person was Anning?

One of 10 children (only two survived to adulthood), she was the daughter of a cabinetmaker who supplemented his meagre income by mining the cliffside fossil beds near Lyme Regis. This sowed in Mary a lifelong love for fossils. She read voraciously, and taught herself how to draw the skeletons she unearthed. By her teens, she was already making important discoveries.

What made her a hero?

Mary Anning was just 11 years old when her father died. The family had no money, she had virtually no education and her prospects were very limited. She had learnt from her father to recognise what stones might hide something of interest, and developed the art of uncovering what lay within them to reveal their secrets. Mary worked hard to learn all she could about the science of palaeontology. Above all, I admire the extraordinary imagination, energy and determination that enabled her not just to overcome her circumstances, but to become one of the country's most eminent palaeontologists.



Mary Anning depicted in c1840. "The more I read about Mary... the more admirable I found her," says Jenny Agutter

What was her finest hour?

Mary made her first important discovery, a 17-foot-long ichthyosaur skeleton, at the age of 12. In 1828, she discovered the first pterosaur flying reptile ever found in the UK and the following year a squaloraja fish skeleton. But for me, her finest hour was the discovery of a plesiosaur marine reptile when she was 24. It required huge skill to reconstruct it and she needed to have absolute faith in herself, as many people refused to believe that her discovery was real.

Is there anything about her you don't particularly admire?

She survived by selling fossils, but never made much money, so I just wish Mary had been a better businesswoman. She was ripped off and treated with less respect than she should have been.

Can you see any parallels between her life and your own?

Very few: I also started working while a child, but through happy circumstance, not tragedy. I understand in a small way the thrill of finding artefacts. Growing up in Cyprus, which is steeped in ancient history, my family would visit Salamis. Snorkelling on that coast, I learnt to spot archaeological items – coins, lead seals, pottery and glass – from the Roman or Byzantine periods. It was exciting spotting verdigris in a crevice in the seabed and finding it was a Roman coin. Yet unlike Mary, I've never made any major discoveries!

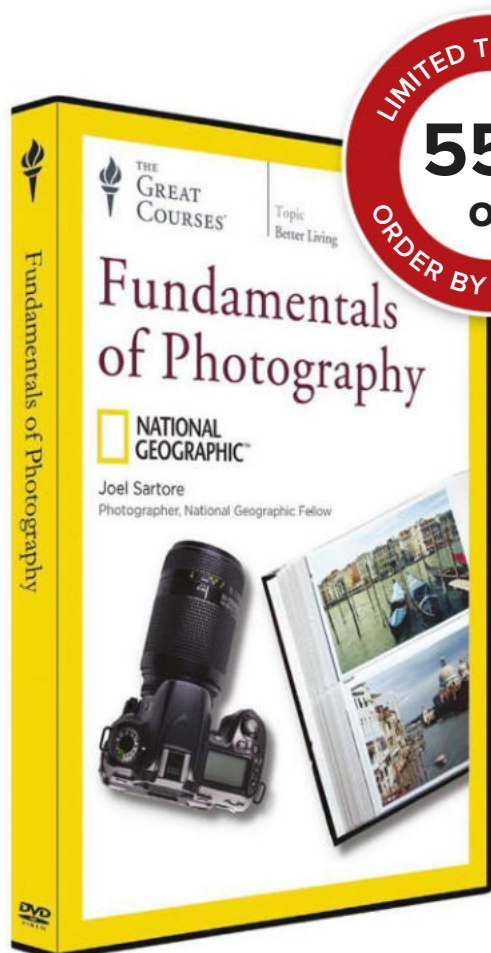
Might you have followed in Mary's footsteps then?

No, I could never have been a scientist. Her passion was matched with enormous patience and diligence – not attributes I have in huge amounts. Having had no science education at school, I would be lost.

If you could meet Mary, what would you ask her?

I'd ask her which of the many fossils she found she was proudest of discovering. I suspect it may have been her very first discovery. **H**
Jenny Agutter was talking to York Membery

Jenny Agutter found fame as a child actor in *The Railway Children* (1970) and *Walkabout* (1971). She has since starred in many films, TV dramas and plays, including *Call the Midwife*. Series six of the BBC drama begins this month, while series five is out now on DVD



Learn the Inside Secrets of Professional Photographers

Photographs can preserve cherished memories, reveal the beauty of life, and even change the world. Yet most of us point and shoot without really being aware of what we're seeing or how we could take our photo from good to great.

Just imagine the images you could create if you trained yourself to "see" as the professionals do. With **Fundamentals of Photography**, you'll learn everything you need to know about the art of taking unforgettable pictures straight from photographer and National Geographic Fellow Joel Sartore—a professional with over 30 years of experience. Whatever your skill level, these 24 engaging lectures allow you to hone your photographer's eye, take full advantage of your camera's features, and capture magical moments in any situation or setting imaginable.

Offer expires 28/01/17

THEGREATCOURSES.CO.UK/6UKHM
0800 298 9796

Fundamentals of Photography

Taught by Joel Sartore
National Geographic Photographer

LECTURE TITLES

1. Making Great Pictures
2. Camera Equipment—What You Need
3. Lenses and Focal Length
4. Shutter Speeds
5. Aperture and Depth of Field
6. Light I—Found or Ambient Light
7. Light II—Colour and Intensity
8. Light III—Introduced Light
9. Composition I—Seeing Well
10. Composition II—Background and Perspective
11. Composition III—Framing and Layering
12. Let's Go to Work—Landscapes
13. Let's Go to Work—Wildlife
14. Let's Go to Work—People and Relationships
15. Let's Go to Work—From Mundane to Extraordinary
16. Let's Go to Work—Special Occasions
17. Let's Go to Work—Family Vacations
18. Advanced Topics—Research and Preparation
19. Advanced Topics—Macro Photography
20. Advanced Topics—Low Light
21. Advanced Topics—Problem Solving
22. After the Snap—Workflow and Organisation
23. Editing—Choosing the Right Image
24. Telling a Story with Pictures—The Photo Essay

Fundamentals of Photography

Course no. 7901 | 24 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

SAVE £30

DVD ~~£54.99~~ NOW £24.99

+£2.99 Postage and Packing

Priority Code: 139361

For over 25 years, The Great Courses has brought the world's foremost educators to millions who want to go deeper into the subjects that matter most. No exams. No homework. Just a world of knowledge available anytime, anywhere. Download or stream to your laptop or PC, or use our free mobile apps for iPad, iPhone, or Android. Over 550 courses available at www.TheGreatCourses.co.uk.

The Great Courses®, 2nd Floor, Mander House, Mander Centre
Wolverhampton, WV1 3NH. Terms and conditions apply.
See www.TheGreatCourses.co.uk for details.

CILLIAN MURPHY

JAMIE DORNAN

"A GRIPPING, MOVING WWII DRAMA"

THE INDEPENDENT



THE GUARDIAN



THE INDEPENDENT



RADIO TIMES



ESQUIRE



FILM BY SEAN ELLIS

ANTHROPOID

RESISTANCE HAS A CODENAME



ON DVD AND BLU-RAY JAN 16